OUR RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA *A Symposium*

Senator Guy M. Gillette, Arthur Upham Pope, Genevieve Tabouis

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NEW MASSES

April 13, 1943 **15c** **20c in Canada**

THOMAS JEFFERSON: 200 YEARS

TITAN OF FREEDOM by Robert Minor

WORLD CITIZEN by Sen. Elbert Thomas

MARXISM IS DEMOCRACY by A. Landy

MR. JEFFERSON'S PLOW by Louis Lerman

NEW MASSES PRIZE WINNING POEM

TOM WRITES A DECLARATION, by EDWIN G. BURROWS

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WAITING...

DEAR READER:

As you know, the printer, the paper company, the engraver, extend us credit throughout the year to be repaid in early spring, during our annual financial drive. That time is now.

Last week we published a letter from our accountant, Morris A. Greenbaum, which warned us that we had to pay $10,250 by April 15 in order to continue operations.

We can announce that since that warning last week, you have sent in $3,500. That is as of April 8th. That means we must raise $6,700 within the next seven days, or approximately a thousand dollars a day--until April 15. Or else--

The response this past week, though better than previous weeks, still falls far short of the magazine's needs. It means New Masses remains in great peril. April 15th is the deadline--the day which tells whether NM survives this crisis or not.

Last week Joseph North asked if you would canvass your friends, raise additional funds, to help NM surmount this crisis. He wrote: "We won't say die. We believe you will send in that $10,250 rather than see your magazine close its doors."

Was he right? We are waiting to hear from you.

THE EDITORS.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Good Neighbor Wallace

IT WAS a wise decision to send Vice-President Wallace on a good neighbor tour of Central and South American countries. As an outspoken champion of the true meaning of the Atlantic Charter, and as a North American figure who symbolizes the Good Neighbor Policy, he is warmly regarded by all except fifth columnists in Latin America. Wherever he has been, and particularly in Chile, the Vice-President has been accorded an unprecedented reception by the people themselves as well as by government officials.

Note the issues which Mr. Wallace has stressed. At the press conference in Panama he urged the establishment of diplomatic relations between Latin American countries and the Soviet Union as a lasting contribution to world peace. A day or two later, as he stopped for a few hours at Lima, Mr. Wallace defined genuine Pan-Americanism in terms of an equal level of culture, identical standards of welfare, and common ideals as basic principles for all American peoples. In Santiago, where farmers and workers cheered his arrival and 80,000 people gathered in the National Stadium to honor him, Wallace said: "Now the great masses advance toward a fuller liberty . . . people are on a revolutionary march to affirm this land as one of dignity of the human spirit. And this revolution should continue until man is freed from the oppression of man."

These are ideals which help weld anti-fascist unity among the people of the Western Hemisphere; they express the aspirations of real hemisphere solidarity. They must not only be spoken by leading statesmen from the United States; they must also be made to prevail in administration circles. Every action of the State Department, for instance, should be guided by these genuine standards of good-neighborliness. To encourage the efforts of certain commercial interests to exploit the war effort of Latin American workers for profit or to take advantage of the war by "moving in" on Latin America, is in effect a direct help to Hitler.

WHILE Mr. Wallace was visiting neighboring nations, the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM) held its national convention, which gave substance to the ideals expressed by our Vice-President. Despite the most strenuous efforts of Axis agents to capitalize upon differences of opinion within the ranks of Mexican labor, the CTM adjusted its controversies, elected a win-the-war slate, and approved resolutions calling for the concrete implemention of the Atlantic Charter and the Good Neighbor Policy. The convention reaffirmed its recommendation for a Continental Congress of all labor organizations in the Western Hemisphere, and proposed a World Congress of all United Nations' labor movements.

Thus this powerful branch of Latin American trade unionism has thrown its weight behind the progressive forces who for many months have advocated the closest possible unity between the trade unions of North and Latin America, and between the unions of the Western Hemisphere and those of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. Referring to the Atlantic Charter as "the banner of Latin American and Mexican labor," the CTM Convention unanimously called for the freedom of Puerto Rico and India. At the same time the delegates wired President Roosevelt "our faith in the triumph of your

"I was only working for peace, too."

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progressive policies and the fulfillment of the Atlantic Charter, which guarantees the neighborliness of the American nations."

Questions on North Africa

FOR five months, since the American-British landings in North Africa and the introduction of Darlanism, people whose first aim is victory have insisted that among Frenchmen there were no issues between right and left as such. Both de Gaulle and Giraud have specifically subscribed to this position; they have called for unity among all their compatriots upon the single test of being willing to defeat Hitler. The only noticeable difference between these two French leaders is that de Gaulle, being more closely in touch with the heroic underground movement in France itself, is more careful in his definition of who is for and who is against the Axis.

General Catroux, representing the de Gaullists, has recently been conferring with General Giraud; according to news reports, an agreement was to have been formalized within a few weeks, providing an administrative framework in which all anti-fascist Frenchmen may achieve unity. Now [illegible] to press) dispatches from Lon[illegible]t General Eisenhower has asked [illegible]o delay his departure to North Africa. But pending more details we should like to ask: Why isn't there more rapid progress toward the achievement of democracy in North Africa? Why have the political prisoners not been freed? Why are such outright fascists as Nogues and Boisson still in highly responsible posts? Why is the Goebbels propaganda line so prominent, especially in French Morocco? Why does the American State Department seem to do everything in its power to favor Giraud as against de Gaulle; in other words, why does it raise the very issue which de Gaulle and Giraud themselves have declared to be submerged in the interests of war unity? Why, for instance, has the State Department gone out of its way to intrude its prejudice into the French Guiana scene? In short, who, or what elements still throw the monkey wrench?

CONSIDER, for example, some recently published material on just one of these questions. In two exceptionally able reports to the New York *Times*, C. L. Sulzberger presents conclusions derived from a trip through French Morocco, over which General Nogues still presides. Sulzberger informs us that the application of Giraud's more democratic decrees "has been notably reluctant and tardy in French Morocco"; that Allied officials have been having a hard time with civilian bureaucrats "who, when not privately obstructionist, are at best reluctant allies"; that "in minor cases, apparently whenever possible, Allied desires are being frustrated or at least delayed in their execution"; that Nogues "is tolerating, if not encouraging, all efforts on the part of his entourage to instill in Americans the anti-British sentiments that so many reactionary Frenchmen in Africa have long harbored."

It is clear that our State Department has made a sorry mess in North Africa. It failed to establish a firm line of policy in keeping with the necessities of the war. Then, under worldwide criticism and pressure it partly mended its ways and at least approved certain progressive steps taken by Giraud. But the Department continues to snub de Gaulle, to apologize for the worst features of the North African government. It still fails to come forward with a clear-cut, unifying policy. We feel sure that we only reflect the views of great masses of Americans when we urge the State Department to rid itself promptly of those individuals who are doing so much to delay, and even threaten, victory.

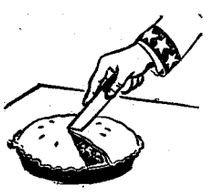
Anti-Soviet Plot

WE RECOMMEND to our readers Earl Browder's trenchant appraisal, in the *Worker* of April 4, of the anti-Soviet conspiracy which the case of Alter and Ehrlich represents. Mr. Browder points to an ominous trend within our own borders where a group of American citizens, taking their politics from the Social-Democratic Federation, have organized to overthrow the Soviet government. How far this plotting has gone was expressed by N. Chanin who wrote in the magazine *Friend* (January 1942) that "The last shot was not yet fired. And the last shot will be fired from free America—and from that shot the Stalin regime, too, will be shot to pieces." Not only does such intrigue violate our 1933 treaty obligations, but thus far Washington has done nothing to stop it and, as Mr. Browder notes, has "tolerated its continued operation, and now permits a mass campaign in this country in defense of the conspiratorial agents who were apprehended and executed in the Soviet Union."

Our government's silence, particularly after it has declared that the defense of the Soviet Union is "in the interest of the national defense of the United States," (Mr. Welles in a note to the Soviet Ambassador, Aug. 2, 1941) is proof again of how a malicious and powerful minority has obstructed a stated policy of friendship and assistance to a great ally. Last June the Department of Justice prosecuted Anastase Vonsiatsky, a White Russian fascist who was in the center of a web of espionage against our own government and that of the Soviet Union. Now, with the exception of a statement by an OWI spokesman (see NEW MASSES for March 30) in reply to a query from our Washington editor, Bruce Minton, there has been no action to halt the enemies of national policy and interests. In fact Senator Mead and Mayor LaGuardia have felt it incumbent upon themselves to join a "protest movement" engineered by a handful of Social Democrats whose anti-Soviet history is no different from Vonsiatsky's. We can be sure that were Vonsiatsky at liberty today (he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment) he too would be shedding bitter tears over the fate of Alter and Ehrlich just as are Dubinsky, Hearst, and Roy Howard.

The "protest movement" has also managed to enmesh William Green. At the recent New York meeting where the most notorious enemies of American-Soviet collaboration gathered — including Max Eastman, with a place of honor on the platform—Mr. Green helped along plans to prevent Allied labor unity. His bitter remarks, though they were coated with sweet praise for the Red Army, can do nothing but harm the growing eagerness for cooperation among British, American, and Soviet trade unions. They strengthened the position of the Woll-Hutcheson faction of the AFL executive council. But more perceptive labor leaders, notably those of the New York CIO Council, have been quick to recognize that the Alter-Ehrlich fiasco damages the Allied coalition and aids Goebbels.

What Price Food?



WE ARE beginning to get a grip on the price and distribution problem—but only just beginning. What threatened to become a disastrous meat shortage in New York and other large cities has been relieved; and rationing of meat, butter, cheese, and fats, which began March 29, has helped distribute available supplies more fairly, though loopholes in OPA regulations still need to be closed. Now comes another most important step: the establishment of cents-per-pound ceilings for beef, veal, lamb, and mutton, to take effect April 15. (Pork is already under such ceilings.)

Yet all this is still of a piecemeal character, and seems to be based on the theory that the OPA is a kind of troubleshooting agency which acts only after something goes wrong. Poultry, for example, is as yet neither rationed nor under effective price-

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VOL. XLVII, No. 2 [illegible] **209**

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control. Inevitably poultry prices will rise and shortages develop. And many other food items are likewise being allowed to take their course, a policy which invites inflation and all manner of social irritations. Furthermore, the pressure of the big canning companies for the elimination of grade-labeling threatens indirect inflation.

IN THIS situation we have had during the past week two examples of the firm leadership which the country needs. One was President Roosevelt's vigorous veto of the Bankhead bill, which would add more than five percent to the nation's food bill by barring deductions from price ceilings of benefit payments to farmers. Another measure of the same type, the Pace bill, which would boost food costs by an additional twelve or thirteen percent, has passed the House, but the President's action ought to initiate a drive to kill it in the Senate.

The other example of wise leadership came from the labor movement in the form of proposals submitted jointly to President Roosevelt by the AFL, CIO, and the Railroad Brotherhoods through the President's Labor Victory Committee. The proposals call for extending ceilings on foods not now controlled, bringing all food prices down to the levels prevailing on Sept. 15, 1942, when wage stabilization went into effect, and inclusion of labor representatives in the OPA and the new food production setup headed by Chester Davis. It is clear that the question of wages is merely one aspect of the problem of assuring to America's soldiers of production a sufficient supply of the necessities of life to achieve maximum output. No less important are over-all price control and rationing. Congress, the President, and OPA Director Prentiss Brown can act effectively on these questions only if the people speak up both individually and through organized effort.

Learn From Our History

DURING the very week when the country is celebrating Thomas Jefferson's bi-centennial anniversary, the New York *Times* has published a survey of the appalling state of affairs in the teaching of American history in the country's high schools. Last June the *Times* conducted a survey which showed that eighty-two percent of our higher institutions of learning do not require courses in history as a basis for graduation; seventy-two percent do not even require it for admission. All of which means that thousands upon thousands of Americans get nothing of the unfolding of our democracy except the most elementary facts.

In Jefferson's Tradition

THE editors of NEW MASSES wish to congratulate the Workers School on the meeting it is holding Friday night, April 15th, at the Cosmopolitan Opera House, commemorating the bi-centennial of Thomas Jefferson. We believe it is totally in that great man's tradition that such men as Claude G. Bowers, Ambassador to Chile, and Earl Browder will present their views from the same platform. We hope this event will inspire similar meetings throughout the nation. They have the effect of reviving interest in our country's great past, underscoring the lessons America's forefathers taught, thereby helping to cast a greater light upon our historic responsibilities today. We are certain our readers will avail themselves of the opportunity to honor Jefferson at the Workers School meeting, which is not a matter of mere academic interest, but an occasion of first-rate political significance. For it says to our enemies: "Here, this is what we are fighting for."

The *Times* performed a useful service in pointing out how little history college freshmen know. But unfortunately the *Times* questionnaire was so framed that the recollection of dates and facts out of context became the sole test of whether young men and women had some working knowledge of the country's life, past and present. Naturally, the *Times* approach is typically academic and reveals that it too, so far as the teaching of history is concerned, thinks of the subject primarily in terms of dates and names—an outworn method which has insulated the average student from the fascinating and inspiring course of our national existence.

The *Times* will have to look elsewhere for the "astounding amount of misinformation disclosed by the students." Least of all should the students be blamed. Many of them are the victims of ill-equipped school systems where teachers are overworked and underpaid. But more than that, the teaching of history has been subject to witch hunts, the scrutiny of Chambers of Commerce, the inquisitions conducted by authorities with the moldy mentalities of a Martin Dies. Those educators who have shown initiative and courage —who have tried to give contemporary meaning to the march of our democracy—have been vilified by Rapp-Coudert committees.

In a war for national survival, where morale and spirit can only be generated by knowing the fire and turmoil through which we have already passed and that which still looms before us, a deep immersion in American history is of crucial importance. This two hundredth year since the birth of Jefferson is an ideal occasion with which to begin.

No Friend of Labor

A FEW days ago Mark Starr, hitherto educational director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was refused his appointment as Director of Adult Education in the New York school system. He had passed the Boards of Examiners and Superintendents; it was the lay Board of Education which turned him down. Asked why, Ellsworth Buck—president of the Board—declared that Starr was rejected for being a "labor protagonist," using the words, incidentally, as if it meant the opposite of antagonist. Such are the arbiters of our education.

Mr. Starr himself does his own cause little credit. Always a Red-baiter and fence-straddler, an apostle of The Unionism The Bosses Love To Touch, he has completely failed to defend the right of labor to contribute to our educational system. Instead he hastily exculpates himself of all imputation of progressive ideas, thus tacitly accepting the ground on which he was turned down. Far from insisting that labor must be given a hearing in our schools, or that our schools are inadequate without the contribution of labor, he tries to ingratiate himself with the plea that nobody could object to his opinion.

Poor straw though Mr. Starr may be, however, he is a straw to show which way the wind is blowing. He was rejected not for being too ardent a friend of labor, but for seeming to be a friend of labor at all. Thus a school system which permits fascists and anti-Semites to teach, to form sinister organizations, to disseminate propaganda, enforces a taboo against mentioning labor's right to organize. Most of New York's public school students come from working class homes; they are not to be taught, according to Mr. Buck, any friendship for their own class.

This decision is of a piece with the Rapp-Coudert witch-hunts, with the reactionary sizzlings that greet the school civil service lists—sizzlings inspired by the fear that anyone intelligent enough to pass Board of Examiners tests must inevitably be a radical. It is of a piece with overcrowded classrooms and overdriven teachers, with the strangling of school welfare services. It is part and parcel of the reactionaries' resolve that our students shall not be taught the truth about their world.

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COALITION CURRENTS

By John Stuart

UNLESS one thinks that alliances can only ripen in the dark, there is no mystery why the British are concerned over our relations with the Soviet Union. They are concerned, first, because of the joint military obligation which requires the most efficient functioning of the coalition. Parallel with this need is the responsibility of unravelling all those political complexities from which misunderstandings grow. Both interact upon each other, and like the cutting blades of a scissors one blunted edge reduces the effectiveness of the whole instrument.

For Britain the alliance with the USSR was as inevitable as it was natural. I am not forgetting geography or the gratitude which the mass of British people feel over the fact that the Red Army's titanic battles have given them some respite and a measure of safety from the ravages of the Luftwaffe. But as Walter Lippmann once put it, in a war of survival the realities of international affairs are much stronger than sentiment. To hear the most conservative and dominant voices of Britain respond to the necessities of the conflict, after having enunciated the most disastrous policies,

f evidence that these necessities
whelm the most adamant private

In fact one may improvise the homily that so far as the British are concerned, necessity has, by and large, been the mother of a wholesome foreign policy. Serious *cul de sacs*, such as the British attitude toward India, are still to be reckoned with, but here again the requirements for victory will force revisions.

The junction between London and Moscow was built because it was the only alternative policy which could save England from Hitler's dripping jaws. It was the only logical basis, after the fall of France, on which Great Britain could maintain herself as a world power. The earlier conception, particularly during the imperialist phases of the war, of an exclusive Anglo-American alliance, became outmoded as soon as the USSR was attacked. From the point of view of the most hard-headed British pro-war conservative, any restricted relationship between London and Washington always ran the risk of a partnership in which Downing Street might have to take a back seat. It was Dr. Virgil Jordan of the National Industrial Conference Board who said, in a classic exposition of what American tories were thinking in December 1940: "At best, England will become a junior partner in a new Anglo-Saxon imperialism. . . ." This trend struck terror in the hearts of many conservatives in Great Britain and it was inevitable that London would seek safer ground—to draw itself closer to the Soviet Union and to help evolve the compact of the United Nations. Thus, in July 1941, and in May 1942 when the Anglo-Soviet Pact was signed, ruling class interests blended with the interests of Britain's people to form a policy whose benefits for the whole of Europe, provided nothing intervenes, are tremendous.

BUT if it took Britain a long period of stress and turmoil to recognize her natural ally—the United States, *while still far behind*, was coming to the same conclusion. Vice-President Wallace, speaking at the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship last November, again noted that Russian amity has always been "intertwined with our own history." From the earliest days of the American republic the Russians have demonstrated their good will toward us. This was particularly true during our own Revolution and Civil War. Nor should we forget the cultural and political sympathies which progressive personalities during the czarist regime had for the whole development of American society.

It was only after the overthrow of czarist despotism and the establishment of Soviet democracy that reactionary interests here influenced the government to adopt a hostile policy toward the USSR. The policy was reversed by President Roosevelt with the recognition of the Soviet Union and then came to the fore again in 1940. It was not until months later that it became obvious how important good relations were for the security of our country.

Even so conservative an analyst as Walter Lippman could write without the least hesitation in his syndicated column of June 6, 1942, that "we shall fatally misunderstand the nature of things if we do not understand that Russia—be it czarist or Soviet—is and always has been the natural ally of the United States. . . . When the test came we have always had the sense to be pro-Russian in our own vital interest. We must continue to be. For Russia is the greatest land power of the Eurasian continent and no international order can be imagined without Russia as one of its great supports."

The path to establishing these relations has not been easy. Many have assumed that the road through what was formerly a wilderness had been cleared. But Mr. Eden's trip showed that while the trees have been felled, a thick underbrush still remains. And among the most reprehensible forces in the country which have blocked full tripartite collaboration none has been more guilty than the New York *Times*. The *Times* is verging on a neo-isolationism cut to fit the fact that one must be very wary of the statutes covering treason. Its neo-isolationism is conveniently wrapped in the Atlantic Charter, which it is trying to transform into a death warrant for all the United Nations. It says that unless Britain and the Soviet Union accept the *Times* interpretation of the Charter, the United States will turn back to the splendid isolation of Coolidge and Harding. It weeps copious editorial tears for the New York *Herald Tribune* for rejecting the *Times'* use of the Charter as a means of creating an atmosphere of hostility toward the USSR over the latter's just claims to its own territory ranging from the Baltics to Bessarabia. "As long as there are voices in America itself," intones the *Times* in reply to the *Tribune*, "which, for one reason or another, continue to support Russia's stand in preference to that of the American government, Russia may find it to her advantage to hold out. And the longer she should, the greater would be the danger that America's present enthusiasm for world cooperation might wane." In effect, the *Herald Tribune*, of all things, is practically charged with being a Moscow publication.

THE not-so-strange thing about the *Times'* distortion of the Charter is that its attitude toward that document parallels its self-righteous policy on Finland, Franco Spain, Mikhailovich, and a host of other issues which continue to muddy the waters of our international diplomacy. The *Times* is apparently at the stage where it has embraced the principle of self-determination to determine American policy, Russian policy, British policy—in fact the policy of all the thirty-one countries comprising the United Nations. And it is able to do this because within the confines of the President's broad policy there are equivocal notes which the *Times* can sing in harmony with all of America's Munichеers. A clearly expressed and practiced diplomacy, grounded in the simple propositions of the Atlantic Charter, would make it impossible for a newspaper to utter such catastrophic ideas and then claim that they are Washington's also.

The dispute over policy will not, most fortunately, be resolved by Mr. Sulzberger's private departments of protocol and European affairs. It will be resolved by the pressure of labor, by the vigilance of a united people. It will find its solution on the field of battle—*the second front*—where we and Great Britain will have made those sacrifices and won those victories which will be the undoing of our enemies abroad and their henchmen at home. This solution must no longer be delayed.

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

BEFORE SUMMER STORMS

THE Red Army's winter offensive has come to an end. Such a development has been clearly caused by two factors: (1) the thaw which set in fully one month ahead of time; and (2) the continued absence of a second front in Western Europe. The first factor bogged down the Red Army, which had outdistanced its own railroad reconstruction squads, and prevented it from reaching the German strongholds at Krasnogvardeisk (south of Leningrad), Novgorod, Staraya Russa, Smolensk, Bryansk, Orel, Dniepropetrovsk, and Taganrog.

Some of these strongholds, such as Novgorod and Staraya Russa, are only five or six miles from the front line. The vital Bryansk-Kiev railroad was only fifteen miles away from the vanguard of General Golikov's armies. The bend of the Dnieper at Dniepropetrovsk was only thirty-five miles from the vanguard of General Vatutin's armies when the Germans struck back during the last week in February and pushed back the great Soviet salient, which was threatening their armies in the Donbas, on the steppes of the left bank of the lower Dnieper, in the Kuban, and in the Crimea itself, with a disaster which would have topped the disaster of Stalingrad.

THE Germans were able to strike back because they could afford to bring more than a score of divisions from Western and Central Europe to the Eastern Front. This is how the second factor—the absence of a second front in Europe—worked in favor of the German army.

Fighting the war approximately *ninety-five percent alone*, the Red Army during this winter offensive inflicted an enormous amount of damage on the forces of the Axis.

The Wehrmacht (including the satellite armies) lost: 856,000 men killed; 343,500 men captured; 1,490 planes captured; 3,600 planes destroyed; 4,670 tanks captured; 4,520 tanks destroyed; 15,860 guns captured; 4,600 guns destroyed. Or a total loss of approximately 2,000,000 men killed, captured, and wounded beyond repair for frontline duty, 5,090 planes, 9,190 tanks, and 20,360 guns.

This fascist army with its equipment represents approximately the equivalent of the entire German army which invaded Western Europe on May 10, 1940, and conquered it in six weeks. To quote Max Werner's *Battle for the World*, the German General Staff then marshaled 125 infantry divisions, 7,500 tanks, and 5,000-7,000 planes. Such an army conquered all Western Europe in six weeks, but its equivalent was *completely destroyed* in twenty weeks by the Red Army.

AS A RESULT of the winter offensive, the Red Army freed from the enemy some 180,000 square miles of territory, or an area equal to the entire Ukraine; and equal to the area contained between the Atlantic seaboard, the St. Lawrence River, Lake Ontario, and the Allegheny and Potomac Rivers—or eleven northeastern states.

The Red Army cracked the German strongholds of Schluesselburg, Demyansk, Velikie Luki, Rzhev, Gzhatsk, Vyazma, Kursk, Belgorod, and Kharkov (the latter two had to be given up when the Germans struck back at Vatutin's salient). However, it could not reach Novgorod, Staraya Russa, Smolensk, Bryansk, Orel, Dniepropetrovsk, and Taganrog before the thaw. The Red Army retook from the enemy, and has now restored, a number of extremely important railroads. However, they were restored when the offensive was already waning, and furthermore, the Soviet frontline network of railroads is still weaker than the one in German hands. Most important of all, the Germans control the great railroad nuclei of Smolensk, Bryansk, and Kharkov.

Of course, the Nazis' terrific losses were partly balanced by those of the Red Army; for instance we know that the Soviets have lost about 2,500 planes in the last twenty weeks. The Germans still have a heavy preponderance in manpower over the Soviet Union, which must keep about 1,000,000 men under arms and probably 2,000,000 as mobilized reserves in the Far East.

The Germans also still have more planes, guns, and tanks. Add to this a better network of communications, and you will see that we are certainly on the eve of a new and terrible summer storm which will break over the southern wing of the Soviet-German Front. Certain ominous harbingers of that storm are already in the air: great troop concentrations in the Ukraine, the air raids on Bataisk, the rolling attack against the Soviet lines on the Donets, the stubborn defense by the Germans of their bridgehead on the Taman Peninsula.

IN ADDITION to this, and probably most important of all, we have the "still unfinished business" in North Africa and the tendency not to land in Western Europe until that business is finished.

The landing of nearly 500,000 Allied troops in North Africa coincided almost to the day with the beginning of the Soviet winter offensive. From that day there has been only an abortive attempt by Allied troops to capture Tunis and Bizerte and to "tie up" the orifice of the sac into which Rommel was racing. This attempt was made at a time when there were only a couple of divisions of Axis troops in northern Tunisia. The attempt was a failure and the sac remained open, for both the intake and the outlet of Axis troops. Since then the Axis troops in northern Tunisia have been receiving steady reinforcements, until they reached the 100,000 mark (there were only about 10,000 of them in November).

At the same time Rommel has been pulling out from Libya into Tripolitania and Tunisia, obviously intent on keeping his Africa Corps intact and bringing it into northern Tunisia for a junction with von Arnim's troops. This was Rommel's main objective. Everything else was nothing but delaying actions to prevent Montgomery from doing anything more than stepping on his "tail."

THE trap prepared for Rommel by Alexander and Eisenhower in southern Tunisia looked perfect. On the map it was a corker. The only trouble was that it did not work. Rommel kept General Patton at arm's length at El Guettar while he was pulling out northward and while Montgomery, by a brilliant flanking maneuver around the Mareth Line to El Hamma, was capturing the Mareth Line which was held only by a rearguard.

Along the direction of Sfax American troops are held up by Rommel's flank guard. Along the direction of Sousse (via Kiarouan) the same situation obtains. The time for catching Rommel *before* his junction with Arnim has practically passed. Now it will mean a frontal attack against the tough nut of Tunis and Bizerte defended by 150,000 good Axis troops.

All these failures may have been nobody's fault. This is quite possible, and it would seem that General Patton is the last man to be blamed. Maybe he did not have the men and stuff to stop Rommel's amazing flank march to the north. The point is

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not to blame anybody in command in Tunisia. The failures there are not so important in themselves. It is the five months' delay in the opening of a second front in Europe that is tragic. No amount of explanations can account for that.

WE WERE told that there were no ships; but Admiral Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham has said that 800 ships carried 6,500,000 tons of stuff and 500,000 men—according to Churchill—to North Africa in three months following Nov. 8, 1942. So we see that the ships, men, and materials *were* there. They could have been sent to Europe over a line of communications thirty times shorter than the one to Africa.

Ah but, some will say, the experience of the Dieppe raid showed us that an attack on France was impossible. At the time, i.e. in August and September 1942, I stuck my neck out and said that the Dieppe raid was a success. Now no less a figure than General McNaughton, *who commanded the Canadians at Dieppe*, comes out and says that he could have stayed at Dieppe if he had been so ordered. That is plain talk. Put Churchill's, Cunningham's and McNaughton's words together—and you will see that a second front could have been opened months ago.

HOWEVER, let bygones be bygones. The important thing now *is not to wait for Rommel's and von Arnim's "Stalingrad" or "Dunkirk,"* whatever it might be, but to invade Europe *before* the African affair draws to its belated end.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

ABSENT WITH REASON

Washington.

IT WAS to be expected that a stalwart politician like Rep. James W. Mott of Oregon, with a decidedly isolationist record before Pearl Harbor, would not overlook the chance to badger Secretary of Labor Perkins when she appeared before the House Naval Affairs Committee. That the subject of absenteeism in war production plants should have claimed the attention of the Naval Affairs Committee might at first appear strange, but the explanation lies, of course, in the slick wording of Rep. Lyndon Johnson's "work or fight" bill to "punish" absentees working on Naval Department contracts. By this old trick of limiting application of the proposed legislation, the bill was handed over to Naval Affairs, headed by the labor-baiting Carl Vinson of Georgia; the chances of a favorable report to the House were far better than if the bill were brought before the Labor Committee, and the bill could always be broadened in scope by committee amendment. Even so, protest caught up with the Johnson proposal and a revised measure was substituted—which is hardly better than the original. Rep. Mary Norton's insistence that absenteeism should be referred to her Labor Committee failed to stop Vinson.

Representative Mott jumped at the opportunity to attack the administration and organized labor when the Secretary of Labor testified before Naval Affairs. He launched a loud and belligerent argument (disproved by the known facts) that absenteeism is aggravated by the closed shop, and that the administration spends its time imposing the closed shop on helpless employers. The fact that no statistics on absenteeism exist for the country at large, and that information, though piling up, remains incomplete, did not prevent Mott from concluding that the whole blame for absenteeism must rest with organized labor. The added fact that every close study of absenteeism bears out the Labor Department's contention that the evil can seldom be traced to malingering or to willful defections was also grandly disregarded by Mott in his passion to smash the unions.

The reactionaries and defeatists in Congress have only one interest these days—to seize on every difficulty in the war effort, to magnify it, and to use it to belabor the administration and organized labor. When it comes to manpower mobilization, the Austin-Wadsworth bill to "draft" labor embodies exactly the same snap-the-whip coercion as the Johnson bill on absenteeism. For its part, Bankhead's proposal to defer farm workers merely adapts the Austin-Wadsworth approach to agricultural workers. All such legislation, accompanied as it is by slander and opinionated misinformation, far from strengthening the home front, serves to spread the lie that American workers do not support the war and therefore must be bludgeoned into line. Any of this legislation, if passed, will disorganize the production effort still further, aggravating present planlessness.

ON ABSENTEEISM in particular, a lot of loose talk is heard these days in Washington. Yet when the Secretary of Labor informed various congressional committees of surveys proving that most job absences are involuntary and that at least ninety percent of absenteeism must be attributed to illness or to industrial accidents, the newspapers which filled columns of space with the unsupported charges of Rickenbacker and similar special pleaders just didn't see fit to print the Secretary's documented remarks. The head of a powerful congressional committee commented—off the record—that the press boycott of Secretary Perkins' testimony could not be blamed on reporters who turned in to their editors full and accurate accounts. This same person added that the press must certainly be aware that space given to the pro-Rickenbacker groups amounted to publicity for Axis propaganda, since the fight against absenteeism as waged by the labor-baiters spreads maximum confusion and succeeds only in hampering the war effort.

INFORMATION on absenteeism supplied by Secretary Perkins, and supplemented by material entered into the *Congressional Record* by Rep. George H. Bender of Ohio, threw light on the real causes. For six months of 1942, employment rose six percent, but industrial accidents increased by twelve percent. Altogether 801,000,000 man-days were lost in 1942 from sickness and accidents. It is of little benefit to "forbid" an employe to get sick. Those who reason that absenteeism is the product of "high" wages, which in turn are supposed to lead to drunkenness and other dissipation, advocate the "cure" of substandard wages. This solution may be attractive to Rickenbacker and those like him, but scrutiny of available figures on absenteeism shows that drunkenness has nothing to do with the increased number of workers failing to appear on the job when scheduled, and "high" wages, on examination, turn out to be shockingly low in comparison with rising living costs. Rather, behind absenteeism lurks bad planning, abuses that sap the workers' vitality or confront them with problems that can

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be met—and then only partially—by staying away from work.

Surveys indicate that absenteeism results from:

(1) *Illness.* Under present factory conditions, women are more frequently ill than men, usually because they are not conditioned to the strain. Women who work daily and attempt to do the housework at home in the evenings, plus sewing, laundry, and giving some attention to the children, not surprisingly succumb to fatigue and to various indispositions. Health of both men and women is undermined, among other factors, by faulty lighting, poor ventilation, excessive hours, inordinate speed-up without proper recreation, bad food, and nervous tension.

(2) *Accidents.* Almost always, accidents result from inadequate safety provisions, particularly in smaller plants. Congress refused to vote appropriations to the Labor Standards Division whose accident prevention work saved, in 1942, an estimated 400 lives, 1,000,000 man-days, 4,100 permanent disabilities, thousands of temporary injuries.

(3) *Housing.* Poor living conditions and overcrowding cause absenteeism because of resulting illness, because workers take time off in an attempt to find better dwellings, or seek other jobs with better housing available. Because of housing difficulties many workers must commute great distances, and this often causes absences.

(4) *Transportation.* Hours spent every day going to and from work on badly ventilated, overcrowded buses and streetcars wear down workers physically. Traveling in automobiles in car-sharing plans means that a flat tire or some other mishap can keep as many as five employes off the job.

(5) *Other reasons.* Crowded conditions often prevent workers from living with their families. Out of loneliness they take time off to visit wives, parents, or children in another town. Lack of day nurseries and child-care facilities forces married women to stay home when children develop colds or other ailments. Bad diet and the fact that single men usually must eat at dirty and poor quality chop houses damage health. The fact that medical care is available only at certain hours, that shops are closed after work, forces many to take days off to see the doctor or to buy food and clothing. Lack of recreation and other abuses undermine morale and tend to raise absenteeism.

THESE difficulties can be multiplied many times. Obviously, absenteeism will not disappear just because Congress decides to issue a decree forbidding it. Yet, without argument, absenteeism seriously interferes with maximum production. For that reason, it cannot be ignored.

The same men in Congress who denounce labor voted down appropriations for better housing, child-care facilities, other social services. Those who attack the unions ignore the proven fact that wherever labor-management committees function, the incidence of absenteeism has been reduced, sometimes in startling fashion. Where management makes proper provisions for the health and safety of employes, where morale is high, absenteeism has been kept as low as two percent. In a plant which changed over from two shifts a day to three of eight hours each, and provided hospitalization, a cafeteria, plant doctors, dieticians to advise workers on planning healthful meals, and recreational centers, an estimated saving of 400,000 man-hours a year was the reward. Another plant cut its absentee rate in half by providing similar services, in particular child nurseries. But where management disregarded employes' welfare, the rate skyrocketed as high as fifteen percent.

Secretary Perkins stated: "In most of the plants with low absenteeism rates, management gives a large part of the credit to labor cooperation and Labor Department assistance." Certainly, when union-management committees function, absenteeism drops off. As with all other problems of war production, the need is for wholehearted collaboration of labor and management. Legislation which seeks to victimize the unions or to coerce the workers aggravates the disease. The suspicion arises that a number of congressmen most wrathful against labor have a pretty good idea of what coercion will bring. This knowledge seems to egg them on. They seem less interested in intensifying the war effort than in other objectives bringing confusion, delay, disproportions of all kinds in their wake. The solution of manpower problems, of which absenteeism is only a phase, depends on over-all planning of production as a whole. As the Senate Kilgore Committee pointed out in a preliminary report on manpower: "In the absence of any over-all policy and program for mobilization of manpower . . . compulsion in this field should be the very last resort in a democracy such as ours."

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TO A GATHERING of foreign correspondents, Philip Murray, president of the CIO, recently reiterated his interest in achieving full working unity with the British and Soviet labor movements. He emphasized the CIO's desire as well to establish closer relations with the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL). His restatement of CIO policy serves as an official rebuke to certain groups within the labor movement anxious above all else to prevent international trade union unity either in this hemisphere or with our European allies. Matthew Woll of the AFL, with the cautious prodding of James Carey of the CIO, has been known to have "contacted" certain clerical fascists in Mexico and to have been interested in suggestions received from former representatives of the disbanded CROM, the corrupt labor federation once boasting connections with the Calles machine. The CIO, however, through Mr. Murray, recognizes the CTAL as the only bona fide confederation of trade unions south of the Rio Grande, and continues to deal exclusively with its acknowledged leaders like Lombardo Toledano.

Mr. Murray also insisted that "The CIO doesn't see any validity in the AFL's objection to collaboration with unions of the Soviet Union, and has said so publicly. If we are United Nations in fact, we must be so in practice—not only in the relations between governments, but in relations between the trade unions of the United Nations." Incidentally, Mr. Murray advised James Carey not to attend the Alter-Ehrlich "protest" meeting in New York. Quite obviously the main purpose of this meeting was to disrupt the United Nations by defaming our Soviet ally. But as a by-product, both David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the Russian Menshevik, Raphael Abramowitch, who helped organize the memorial to the two spies, Alter and Ehrlich, sought to counter the CIO's progress toward international labor unity. Dubinsky and Abramowitch not long ago set up what they called a "conference" to study questions of international labor in the postwar world. The main contribution of this study circle, aside from anti-Soviet slanders, was to call Lombardo Toledano a "Red," and to oppose any move toward closer association between American and Anglo-Soviet unions. This group saw in the phony Alter-Ehrlich "case" a fine chance to delay international cooperation among the unions.

Interestingly, when R. J. Thomas and George Addes of the United Automobile Workers announced their intention of visiting Great Britain and the USSR to study how labor-management committees work in England, as well as labor participation in the war effort in both allied countries, James Carey suddenly was seized with a passion to go to England too. It is generally understood that the purpose of Carey's visit would be to counteract any steps toward international unity taken by Thomas and Addes. Unfortunately the report here is that the UAW officials have been unable as yet to obtain passports from the State Department, which looks askance at labor leaders expressing interest in closer bonds with the workers of the other United Nations.

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TITAN OF FREEDOM

"For Jefferson," Robert Minor writes, "the Constitution was a guarantee against slipping backward and never an obstacle to moving forward." The man and his ideas.

THE Father of this country had to be a soldier. This was made necessary by the nature of the Revolution of this pioneer people, clinging to the edge of a wild continent and making war on the mightiest power of Europe and the seven seas. And the Father of this country was a good soldier, schooled in the war of this wilderness, in the ways and weapons that were a cross between those of the savage and the pioneer. He was Washington, whose memory we love not less but more in this generation when again the nation lives or dies according as it excels or not in the art of political struggle by "other (i.e. forceful) means."

But it is Jefferson who looms highest above the horizon as the great creative figure of thought and action, as the architect of this republic, when we get a little further in perspective, and especially when we consider the American Revolution as part of a great two centuries of progress of mankind as a whole. We must now more than ever look upon the founding of this republic as the first rivulet in what became a mighty torrent of revolution that swept through and transformed most of the world. Thomas Jefferson was the American representative of the cultural and political world revolution.

Jefferson was the most highly educated man in the sciences and arts in all the American colonies. In speaking of the gigantic figures of the Renaissance of some three centuries earlier than Jefferson—naming Leonardo da Vinci, Duerer, Machiavelli, and Luther—Frederick Engels emphasized their many-sided knowledge and their creative part in the scientific and cultural achievements of all peoples, their command of ancient and modern languages and the natural sciences. Concerning them, in his introduction to the *Dialectics of Nature*, Engels wrote:

"The men who founded the modern rule of the bourgeoisie had anything but bourgeois limitations. . . . The heroes of that time had not yet come under the servitude of the division of labor, the restricting effects of which, with its production of one-sidedness, we so often notice in their successors. But what is especially characteristic of them is that they almost all pursue their lives and activities in the midst of the contemporary movements, in the practical struggle; they take sides and join in the fight, one by speaking and writing, another with the sword, many with both. Hence the fullness and force of character that makes them complete men. Men of the study are the exception—either persons of second or third rank or cautious philistines who do not want to burn their fingers."

One has a right to look upon Jefferson, and in some degree upon Franklin, as the heirs of those earlier "founders" of the modern world, as men whose political, scientific, and general scholarship gave greater power to their revolutionary service. Jefferson was above all the link of the American Revolution to the revolutionary culture of France, of the Encyclopaedists and of their successors in the direct political leadership of the French Revolution which followed close upon the American example.

The most flatulent of the present-day bourgeoisie consider Alexander Hamilton their especial prophet and representative within the American Revolution of 1776, because of Hamilton's reactionary tendencies, because of his fear of the "anarchy" of the bourgeois revolution, his advocacy of an upper house of aristocrats holding office for life, and of an executive head of the government elected to life tenure, his worship of the British model of government during the very revolution against Great Britain's rule, his exaggeration, under the conditions of that time, of the idea of centralization of the national state, to the extent of appointment of the state's governors by a national chief executive.

Hamilton had the "bourgeois limitations" of which Engels spoke, and these made him less adequate than the great revolutionary Jefferson as a founder of "the modern rule of the bourgeoisie." Hamilton was too fevered a servant of the "rich and well-born" to be able to serve best the bourgeois revolution which had the function of clearing the way for the unprecedented and incredible advance by which it achieved within a century a progress worthy of a thousand years measured by the pace of previous European history. Hamilton's course would not have left this pioneer people the free, reckless force to break through the forests and the mountains and to found upon two oceans the country of the most advanced technique of production and the most enormous accumulation of wealth that history has ever known.

IT WAS Jefferson, the profound and many-sided revolutionist, who had to lead in breaking this trail. At first glance it is not easy to see in the humane, highly cultured democrat, Jefferson, the leader whose historic role it was to break the trail for the *very best interests* of the modern capitalist system. However, "the bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part," and one must not be surprised that the greatest democrats of the past centuries led it.

"The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors,' and has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation." (*Communist Manifesto*, 1848.)

In the more direct sense Hamilton represented the "naked self-interest," the "callous 'cash payment,' " the "egotistical calculation" of the mercantile classes of the American colonies.

IT WAS Jefferson who dared to fructify the bourgeois revolution by expressing its great progressive significance to the ages when, in the list of its aims, he substituted for *property*, "pursuit of happiness." It was Jefferson who, by his very assault upon "property" of the form embodied in laws of entailment and primogeniture, did most to break down the impediments to the greatest unfoldment of the means of production and, in its time, the building up of the wealthiest bourgeoisie of all the world. It was Jefferson's broad revolutionary vision that made him the leader even in forecasting the principles that were later to be embodied in the Sixteenth Amendment of the Constitution authorizing the income tax which has been, though a tax upon wealth in the interest of the masses, nevertheless an absolute necessity for the continued security of the bourgeois system. And it was Jefferson who, as the pioneer leader of the movement for both higher education and the universal free education of the entire population at the expense of the state, acted as the great revolutionary woodsman, clearing the wilderness of modern bourgeois society.

Hamilton and the "monocrats" appeared as the proponents of the highest centralized national state, but Jefferson, the democratic revolutionist, supplied the internal solidity when "the politics of Europe rendered it necessary that in respect to everything external we be one nation firmly hooped together. . . ."

The Bill of Rights, fathered by Jefferson, was directed against the men of property; but if the conditions guaranteed in

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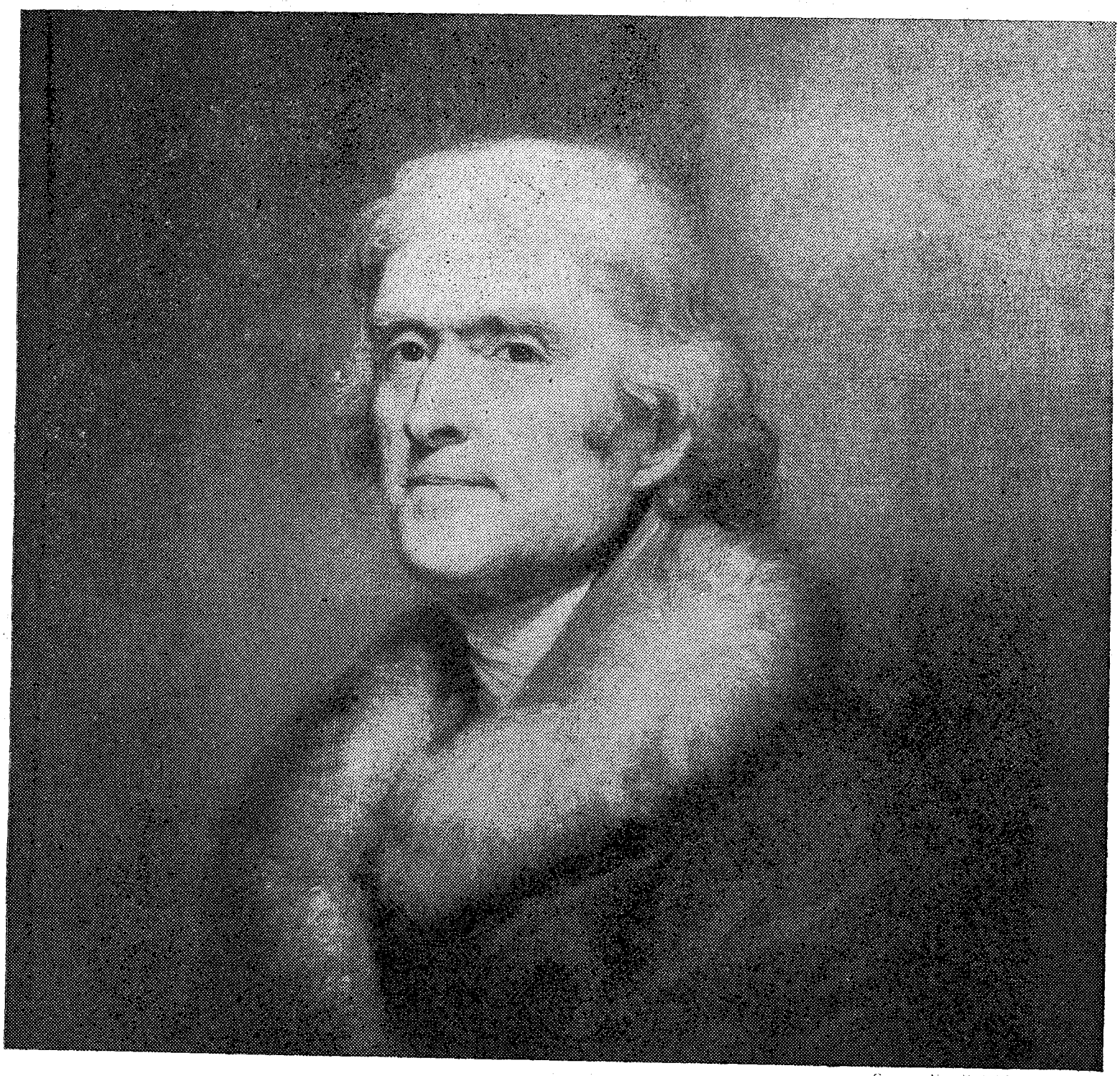

Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Rembrandt Peale—painted in 1803.

Courtesy New York Historical Society

the Bill of Rights had been without a guarantee there would have been a congealing and an atrophy of the social organism early setting in, making impossible the enormous speed and degree of development of the huge and wealthy capitalist nation.

For Jefferson was not without some degree of discernment of the class struggle within the great bourgeois state that was in process of forming. We must recall that when the Revolution began and the republic was founded, it was generally assumed that there was but one political party within it. The Constitution was drawn up with a remarkable trace of this assumption written into it. There were to be a President and a Vice-President, being those two among the rival candidates for the presidency who received the highest and the next highest vote respectively in the Electoral College. That the two would be the highest contesting candidates representing the two strongest rival political parties was not effectively thought of. The assumption was that the revolutionary party headed by General Washington was the universal party of the Revolution, comprising all who were loyal to the republic. The "other" class, and therefore the only other conceivable party, was assumed to have been defeated and gotten rid of in the process of the Revolution.

But this was not so. The class struggle was present, and was at all times the source of the "self-movement," the development of our history.

Hamilton defined the class struggle and his view of the character of the national state in the words:

"All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well-born, the other the mass of the people. . . . The people are turbulent and changing. They seldom judge or determine right. Give therefore to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second. . . . Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy."

Jefferson was of the opposite view. In the year that the French Revolution was culminating in the execution of Louis XVI and the establishment of the republic, Jefferson saw the class lines in that revolution, and saw similiar class lines in America. "The line" (of class division), he said, "is now drawn so clearly as to show on one side:

"(1) The fashionable circles of Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Charleston (natural aristocrats);

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"(2) Merchants trading on British Capital;

"(3) Paper men (All the old tories are found in some one of the three descriptions.)

"On the other side are:

"(1) Merchants trading on their own capital;

"(2) Irish merchants;

"(3) Tradesmen, mechanics, farmers and every other possible description of our citizens."

It was this recognition of class antagonisms and hence of the inevitable existence of political parties that caused a change in the constitutional form of the national state after the sharp conflict between the parties of Jefferson and Aaron Burr in the election of 1800. Observing the danger that lay in the fact that the death of a President would result in the automatic succession to the presidency of a leader of the strongest rival party and class, the states adopted the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution in 1803 providing that the President and the Vice-President must be elected together on the same ticket.

JEFFERSON'S life-long struggle against slavery was not based solely upon humanitarian grounds but upon his understanding that the future development of the country required the expunging of the filthy and contaminating relic of a vanishing period. His anti-slavery views foreshadowed the task of the second revolution [illegible]s to come in the Civil War of [illegible]which he saw as necessary for the [illegible]of the modern forces of production. Jefferson, moreover, went beyond the question of emancipation and affirmed the necessity of abolishing all discrimination against Negroes. In 1809 he attempted what he called "a complete refutation of the doubts I have myself entertained and expressed on the grade of understanding allotted to them [the Negro people] by nature, and to find that in this respect they are on a par with ourselves"; and he had the courage to propose that they be put "on equal footing with the other colors of the human family."

Let's erase the picture of Jefferson, the benevolent old gentleman dreading violence, for Jefferson knew that his time was one of inevitable, destructive revolutionary war. Of the revolutionary developments in France he wrote in 1793:

"The liberty of the whole earth was dependent on the issue of the contest, and was ever such a prize won with so little innocent blood? My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs to this cause, but rather than it should have failed I would have seen half the earth desolated; were there but an Adam and an Eve left in every country, and left free, it would be better than it now is."

He was a fiery partisan of the alliance of our country with the French revolutionary cause, to which he said "ninety-nine in a hundred of our citizens" gave their hearty sympathy.

Are there readers of this article who are confused by the clamor about the alleged lack of principle shown by Americans in condemning a war as imperialist, then citing a changed character in the war and thereupon throwing themselves into its hearty support? The great Jefferson watched keenly the fluctuations in the French revolutionary wars, noted their transformation into French imperialist wars, and then, after the "hundred days" wrote on Aug. 10, 1815:

"At length Bonaparte has got on the right side of a question. From the time of his entering the legislative hall to his retreat to Elba, no man has execrated him more than myself . . . but at length, and as far as we can judge, he seems to have become the choice of the nation. At least, he is defending the cause of his nation, and that of all mankind, the rights of every people to independence and self-government. He and the allies have now changed sides . . . and he is fighting for the principles of national independence, of which his whole life hitherto has been a continued violation."

Jefferson, like the Lincoln who followed him, saw the historic prerogative of revolutionary transformation as inhering solely in the forces of progress, never in the forces of reaction. What is less often seen is that he supported this thesis in scientific terms that stand valid today: That social upheavals are "as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical."

Jefferson made his contribution to the theory of the state in the words of the Declaration of Independence that characterized governments as "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" and subject forever to "the right of the people to alter or abolish" any displeasing to them. Written for the first time into the founding law of a nation was the prerogative of the popular masses to overthrow any outgrown form of state—and "to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and recognizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

THAT was an ample contribution to the theory of the state from any man of that time, and surely the theory was magnificently combined in practice. Yet there is a tantalizing picture of the wide horizon of Jefferson's mind in the observations he made, although in a utopian and speculative, non-historical way, bordering on the subject of the ultimate dying-out of the state and the possibility of existence of a free society without a state. It was utterly utopian and devoid of the scientific base of Marx' views in respect to the "withering away" of the state after performance of its last historic task, a theory developed two decades after the death of Jefferson. This was evident in Jefferson's speculations as to "whether no law, as among the savage Americans, or too much law among the civilized Europeans, submits man to the greatest evil," and that "one who has seen both conditions of existence would pronounce it to be the last; and that the sheep are happier of themselves, than under the care of the wolves." It is interesting that these thoughts arose from observation of the life of American Indians, the same source from which another American, Lewis H. Morgan, two generations later, as Engels said, "in his comparison of barbarism and civilization had led to the same conclusion, in the main, as Marx had arrived at."

Jefferson's concept of progress in history was enlightened by a sense of evolution, as indicated by his assertion "that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, in the truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. . . . And lastly, let us provide in our Constitution for its revision at stated periods."

THE grave test of his view of the Constitution was met when Jefferson made the Louisiana Purchase from Napoleon Bonaparte, by which he added 1,000,000 square miles to the territory of the United States—a vast region including the richest agricultural land in the world and extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border, within which are now found the States of Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Oklahoma and parts of Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. The Louisiana Purchase was admittedly a violation of the law and the Constitution, if one accepted the view that the powers of the federal government were derived solely from the Constitution. But Jefferson found "but one opinion as to the necessity of shutting up the Constitution," in order to add to the most revolutionary country in the world that huge hinterland which became decisive in determining the whole character and course of its development into a mighty continental power. By changing the character of the country it made the eradication of slavery inevitable, made possible the "incredible" and unprecedented act that began with Lincoln's Homestead Law a half century later—the free distribution to pioneer settlers of farm lands as large as the greater part of Europe. From the Louisiana Purchase resulted the unique character of the United States as a country of free land into which for nearly half a century a portion of the population tending to sink through poverty into the proletariat could "Go West" and establish itself in farming. Hence the un-

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paralleled development of labor-saving machinery in the United States and the huge development of the customs-free continental market, and the world's best pre-socialist model of mass production.

JEFFERSON'S view of the Constitution was never formulated in words so clearly as it was expressed in his action in respect to the Louisiana Purchase. But in his practice the Constitution was treated as not in the least binding against future and more advanced achievements in the process of social development. For Jefferson the Constitution was a guarantee against *slipping backward* and never an obstacle to moving forward. The Constitution was a sort of *ratchet*, permitting the wheel of progress to turn forward but locking it against a backward turn.

The extreme importance of this concept of democratic constitutions could hardly be exaggerated. Let us compare it to the most modern example of this approach to democratic constitutions. Joseph Stalin gave the clearest expression of this conception, specifically, of course, in relation to the Soviet Constitution, in addressing the Soviet Congress in 1936. Discussing certain proposals of amendments and additions to the draft of the Soviet Constitution then being considered, intended to introduce into that document changes including a statement of "the ultimate aim of the Soviet movement, i.e., the building up of a fully communist society," Stalin said:

"I think that such amendments and additions also should be put aside as having no direct relation to the Constitution. A constitution is a registration and legislative consolidation of those conquests which have already been achieved and secured. If we do not wish to distort this basic character of the Constitution we must not fill it up with historical information about the past or declarations about the future conquests of the toilers of the USSR."

Jefferson's service in forcing into the Constitution the ten articles of the Bill of Rights was in fact an act of the democratic majority of the American people registering and asserting the permanence of the political freedom they had won in the War of Independence. One must always remember that the Bill of Rights has never been enforced merely by virtue of its existence, but has been enjoyed by the people only when and to the extent that a mass willingness to fight for its preservation has been in the air. The Bill of Rights itself is no more than a ratchet on the wheel of democratic progress.

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It would be too much to expect Jefferson to have understood the basic role of the material forces of production. Only many years after his death was it discovered by Marx that: "The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise the legal and political structure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness." That Jefferson had scant comprehension of the decisive role of economic phenomena was indicated by his early obsession that the United States could remain an agricultural country. He abandoned this notion only late in life, but in 1816 he said:

"We must now place the manufacturer side by side with the agriculturist . . . experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort."

Marx, though he was the best defender of Abraham Lincoln, once said that "all Lincoln's acts appear like the mean, pettifogging conditions which one lawyer puts to his opposing lawyer," while he added that "this does not alter their historic content. . . ." The pettifogging appearance was due to the fact that Lincoln represented the bourgeoisie of that period. Jefferson represented the bourgeoisie at an earlier time, when it was, on a world-scale, the leading revolutionary class of society, when it was the defender of modern science and political progress, when it was not yet "haunted" by the "spectre" of a more advanced class and therefore did not require of its leaders the air of a pettifogging lawyer.

THIS little sketch, most of which is written on a railroad train with the use of such books as I have in a briefcase, can be no more than a suggestion of a direction in which our thoughts on Jefferson's role in American history may well be developed. Above all, in these times when martial deeds and bold thinking are the ransom for the lives of nations, let us develop that part of our thought on Jefferson which the "liberal" custodians of the craft of history tend to obscure—the character of Jefferson as a leader in desperate war, ready and willing to strike ruthlessly with the sharpest tools of war; Jefferson as the leader in the fight for the national interest of a bourgeois state, himself so bold in thought and courage as not to fear to lash the flagging bourgeoisie itself along the path of its own national emancipation. Let us disclose that side of Jefferson in which he was the man of historical vision who saw the Constitution of a republic as an assertion of achievements already gained by revolutionary progress, not as a door slammed against the future. Let us see Jefferson's quality as a leader who understood that the role of this great nation and its national interest places it within the world as a whole, vitally connected with all other parts of the world and depending for its continued life upon its liaison with the *growing* parts. Those parts are the other revolutionary states that arise at a later time and which are therefore more frightening than our own revolution was to the flatulent and unseeing men who are dreaming now in America of cutting our ties with the living part of the world and binding us to the hideous Nazi cancer that would mean our death.

Thomas Jefferson was a democrat.

ROBERT MINOR.

Two Hundred Years

THIS issue of NEW MASSES celebrates Thomas Jefferson, his contribution to America, his continuing influence on the thought and action of our time. We have tried to convey the breadth and richness of his work in the article by Robert Minor. We have sought to express Jefferson's meaning in the world struggle today in the article by Sen. Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, author of the book, *Thomas Jefferson: World Citizen*. We have presented Jefferson as a living force in imaginative literature in our prize-winning poem, "Tom Writes a Declaration," by Edwin G. Burrows, and in the fable by Louis Lerman. And in A. Landy's article we have expressed the historic link between Jeffersonian democracy and the democratic philosophy and practice of Marxism.

All this, we realize, falls far short of giving you the measure of the man. For that, you must go to his work and writings and comprehend the living Jefferson, one of the world titans in the centuries-old battle for human progress. Jefferson worked to unite our people, to make America strong and free. And we know of no more significant expression of the Jeffersonian tradition in this time of national crisis than the fact that two men of different political affiliations, Claude Bowers, American ambassador to Chile and one of our foremost liberal historians, and Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, are participating together on April 9 in a Jefferson anniversary meeting under the auspices of the Workers School. (Ambassador Bowers has written a special paper for the occasion, which is being read for him.)

It is in a similar spirit of unity and democratic affirmation that this issue of NEW MASSES was conceived. We hope you like it. Other material, including Dr. Philip S. Foner's article on labor and the Jeffersonian movement, will appear in later issues.

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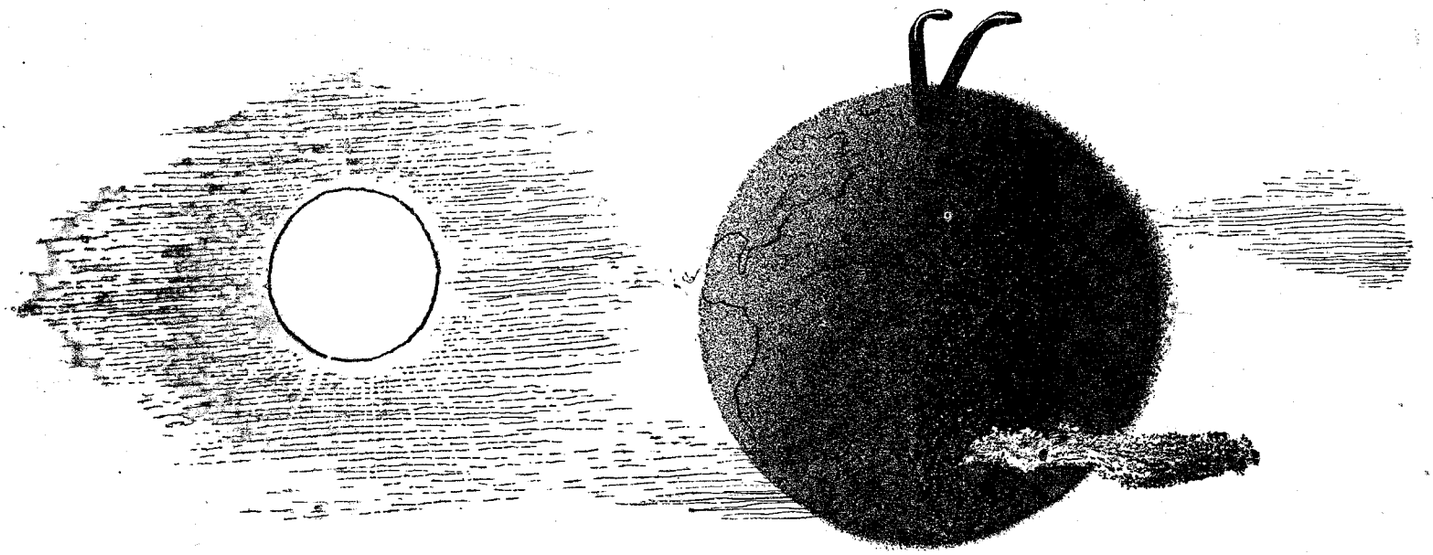

William Gropper

MR. JEFFERSON'S PLOW

"A mile high, ten engines long. Plowed the earth with a giant song. Plowed down the old soil, turned up new. . . ."

THERE are a good many people—and a good many of them people who ought to know better—who don't know much about Thomas Jefferson. And that's surprising. Because there's a lot to now about Mr. Jefferson, a lot worth say-ag and listening to. And I'm not think-ng about the fancy things, like being a ounding Father.

He did a lot of things. He invented and gardened and he played the fiddle. Played it pretty well, too. And he wrote the Declaration of Independence and built a university. That's the kind of man he was. Even found time to be President of the United States in his spare time.

Now there's this story about the 530,000,000 acres of land he bought in Louisiana.

He had a little time off one day, after he'd been President a while and kinda' worked into the job. And he was sitting there in Washington thinking about that new land he'd just bought. And he said to himself, "Here's this big stretch of country we just got. Must be close on as big as all of Europe put together. Needs something big to plow up that piece of land so's people can settle on it and begin to grow things. All these old plows they been using don't dig down deep enough, don't move fast enough. I guess I better invent me a new kind of plow."

So President Thomas Jefferson, he invented a plow. Called it the New Consolidated United American Freedom Plow, Improved Model. And it was—

A mile high
Ten miles wide
Crossed eighteen rivers
In one big stride

A mile high
Ten engines long
Plowed the earth
With a giant song

Plowed down the old soil
Turned up new
That's the way
America grew.

Wasn't a man alive exceptin' Thomas Jefferson could ride that plow. And he couldn't do it alone. Needed more than half the people living in the land pushing all together with both hands, to get that plow started.

That Freedom Plow
It had no chains
Wasn't pulled by horses
To sow the plains

Wasn't pulled by horses
Wasn't chained to men
Ran by an idea
From Jefferson's pen.

That was a powerful idea Mr. Jefferson wrote down in the Declaration of Independence. For Jefferson said, men will be free if they get to plantin' that Liberty Tree.

Well, after Mr. Jefferson finished that plow, he said, "Let's see. Where'll I try it out. Guess I'll take it to New Hampshire. New Hampshire people—that's the hardest kind of people in the world to convince a new thing's good. Funny about New Hampshire folks. Takes all kind of arguin' and cussin' and debatin' to make them see the light, but once they see it, well, they'll come along with you through flood and high water."

So he got all the people in New Hampshire in a big field about thirty miles from Rockfish and he stood up on that plow seat and made a speech. And he said:

Now there's this Liberty Tree
Needs plantin'
No time to be
A' gallivantin'
We got to get this country built

No time to start
A' fussin'
And cussin'
And saying yes
And no

No time to spare
A' waitin'
Debatin'
And saying maybe
Maybe so

For we got to grow this Liberty Tree
All over this big new countree
And grow it deep
And grow it straight
So men will see perpetuate
The life
And liberty
They've won.

"Now I invented this plow here," says Mr. Jefferson, "to start things off with. You'll notice it's a new kind of plow. Goes by itself once you get it started. Needs lots of oil, different kind of oil—unity oil, first grade, only kind she'll run on."

Well, after he got through speaking, he started in to run that plow, and it ran pretty good. Needed a little tightening

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here and there. But everything considered, ran pretty well. Mr. Jefferson was kinda' pleased with that there plow that he'd invented. And all the people in New Hampshire standing by and saying, "That looks like a pretty good plow. Runs pretty good."

By and by a feller comes up to Mr. Jefferson and says, "You call that a plow?"

"That's what I thought it was," says Mr. Jefferson.

"Ain't got no chains on that beam. Never saw a plow before wasn't pulled by horses or by men. Don't look like a plow to me."

"What d'you think it looks like to you, if it don't look like a plow?" Mr. Jefferson asks him.

"Danged if I know," says the feller.

"It runs, don't it?"

"Y-e-s."

"Turns the soil over, don't it?"

"Y-e-s."

"Turns it over deeper than any plow you ever saw. Look at that there furrow—straight and clean and deep—ain't it?" asks Mr. Jefferson.

"Y-e-s."

"Well?"

The man looks at it and says, "Never saw a plow before wasn't pulled by horses or by men. Don't look like a plow to me."

"Mister, I don't know your name." And Mr. Jefferson is beginning to lose his temper by this time. "But by the great Jehoshaphat, I'm gonna show you this is the best durn plow you ever plowed with if it takes me the next hundred-fifty years to do it in."

Now this man, Ebenezer Drew, he'd a back as stiff as a North Church pew. He was a mighty stubborn man, stubbornest man since the world began. I guess he was just about the most stubborn New Hampshire man there ever was. And he just looks at Mr. Jefferson like he thought he was a little crazy, and he was sorry for him.

Mr. Jefferson, he smiles just a little and says, "Ebenezer, that thirty-acre field of yours. They tell me you been getting ready to plant an orchard. You got that land plowed up yet?"

"No," says Ebenezer.

"I understand you ain't been doing so good the last couple of years. You been sowing that old brand of King and Emperor Corn, and that didn't grow so good after 1776. And then you put in that Slavery Seed, and you been getting kind of spindlin' crops."

"Well, what about it?"

"Nothing," says Mr. Jefferson. "I was just thinking. Maybe you'd like me to plow up that thirty acres for you. Won't charge you nothing for it. I'd like to see that orchard and the Liberty Tree a growin', and its roots digging deep into the ground and its branches branching out and children dancing and singing under it." For—

That tree won't grow
If the earth is dry
And men's hands don't
Reach for the sky.

That tree won't grow
If the sun has set
And men look to morning
With regret.

That tree won't grow
If there is no light
And men think freedom's
Not worth the fight.

That tree needs men
With brave men's souls
And hands that clasp united
And feet that move
On one straight road
And hearts not quick affrighted
And eyes that see tomorrow's sun
Rise on a world not blighted
With slavery's shame.
In free men's name
Will justice be a'righted.

Well, they stood around discussin' a while and then Mr. Jefferson says, "Ebenezer, you just get up behind that plow. And you sit tight and hold on to those handles, because you're goin' to be ridin' fast and ridin' high. And we'll have that field of yours cleared and plowed and planted before you can say General George Washington and the Continental Congress."

Well, with all the neighbors standing there, old Ebenezer didn't know how he could save his face—and besides he wanted to get his thirty acres plowed. So he climbed up kind of gingerly. And when he got up to the top, he looked down kind of half-scared and half like he thought he was a bigger fool than Jefferson for sitting on that plow.

"Won't be but a few minutes and we'll be going," says Mr. Jefferson. And he tightened up a screw here and there and fixed a gasket that had gotten loose. "We'll just oil and grease her up a little."

Then he got up on the seat alongside Ebenezer and he hollered down: "You better kind of push her hard. She's slow to start, but once she gets going, she goes all right." And then he whispered to himself, "All right! She'll go like hell afire."

Ebenezer hears him say that and he hollers out, "Lemme get off this new-fangled devil's plow. I knew I shouldna' got up here in the first place. Lemme off! Hey, you, down there, lemme off!"

But that plow was a mile high, ten miles wide. Crossed eighteen rivers in one big stride. And just when Ebenezer started in to yell, the neighbors gave that plow a mighty push and it started in to move.

Mr. Jefferson, he laughed a little to himself and said, "You hollered just a mite too late, neighbor Ebenezer. Looks like we started moving."

Well, Ebenezer didn't have no time to answer back, because that plow started to go hell-bent for the other side of that thirty acres. And it was going so fast he couldn't catch his breath. And the wind whipping his whiskers behind him a hundred miles an hour like it was a flag that plow was flying. And old Ebenezer hollering, "Stop this durn danged durn danged thing."

Trouble is, Mr. Jefferson, he'd forgotten to put a stopping handle on that plow. Or maybe he didn't forget. He just sat up there alongside Ebenezer with a smile on his face and his arms crossed on his chest looking pleased. Every once in a while he would look back at the big furrow they were cutting and the Liberty Trees springing up in the wake of that plow. And he'd wave to Ebenezer to look. But Ebenezer, he just held on tight and cussed. Mr. Jefferson, he smiled a little harder and looked on at the country they were cutting through a mile a minute.

They plowed clear across the country that day and back through that 530,000,000 acres of land in the Louisiana territory. Then they furrowed clear across the Atlantic Ocean, went through France and England, and all these other countries before they finally came back to New Hampshire.

The whole world's never been the same since. Changed things an awful lot. But not for Ebenezer.

For if you believe New Hampshire tales
He's still riding the backwood trails

Mr. Jefferson's gone
But his plow rides on
Plowing the land
For everyone.

With old Ebenezer holding the rein
Clicking to horses that don't obtain
And if you listen, you hear him complain
Can't be a plow, there ain't no chain.

But that freedom plow
It needs no chain
Isn't pulled by horses
To sow the plain

Isn't pulled by horses
Isn't chained to men
Runs by an idea
From Jefferson's pen.

For Jefferson said
Men will be free
When they get to planting
That Liberty Tree.

LOUIS LERMAN

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MARXISM IS DEMOCRACY

One of the prime conditions for victory over Hitler, writes A. Landy, is "a correct and enlightened attitude toward Marxism." What Vice-President Wallace perceived—and where he erred.

A CORRECT and enlightened attitude toward Marxism is today one of the prime conditions of victory over Hitler. This was in effect acknowledged by Vice-President Wallace in his speech March 8 at Delaware, Ohio, in which the relation of Marxism to democracy was raised in terms of its most practical implications for victory in the war and the well-being of the world after the war. This does not necessarily mean accepting Marxism or agreeing with it. But it does meaning acknowledging its essential character as a significant part of the democratic mainstream of thought and achievement. The alternative to this approach leads to the road of national disaster. That is what makes the dangers of a one-sided conception of democracy, which limits it only to its bourgeois form, of far more than academic interest. What might otherwise be dismissed as an expression of national arrogance, a trait utterly alien to the progressive, democratic spirit, must now be dealt with as a mark of national peril.

Unfortunately the Vice-President contributed to this peril by erroneously placing Marxism in the Prussian-totalitarian current. According to Mr. Wallace, Marxism "in some ways" the child of Prussianism, cause Marx was molded in his thinking by Hegel, the great philosopher of the Prussian state" and the man who "laid broad and deep the philosophy of the totalitarian state." The phrase "in some ways" is obviously a concession to the anti-Soviet mentality; but it is a concession whose final consequences can only be the destruction of the Vice-President's entire position. For, the moment you depart from the conception that Marxism, as embodied in the Russian Revolution, is an organic part of the democratic tradition, the struggle of the common man; the moment you deny that there is a historic continuity between the American, French, and Russian Bolshevik Revolutions—a continuity which the Vice-President himself affirmed in his famous speech last May on "the century of the common man"—then you place Marxism and democracy in opposition and provide the ideological basis for that third war which Wallace is so anxious to avoid. In this war for survival, Wallace's wavering is Goebbels' gain. Goebbels is not merely strengthened by a concession; Wallace also concedes his own essential strength.

As a matter of fact, Wallace's speech flounders back and forth between affirmation and denial of the kinship of Marxism and democracy. On the one hand, he attempts to classify Marxism with Prussianism (their alleged common origin). On the other hand, he tries to keep Marxism separate from Prussianism (after all, Russia is our ally against Hitler). His end result is to set up a theoretical affinity between the two. On the one hand, he strives to bring Marxism and "democracy" together; on the other hand, he attempts to distinguish in principle between them, with the honors of course going to "democracy," although the tests of democracy, even as set up by Wallace, are more completely fulfilled by Marxist Russia than by the capitalist United States.

Thus, Wallace recognizes service to the common man, the preservation of the true dignity of man, as the test of democracy. He admits that Russian Marxism is effectively applying this test in practice, while "democracy," which is supposed to do it in theory, still has to prove that it can catch up with the Russians. And yet Wallace not only excludes Marxism from the *concept* of democracy, but poses "democracy"—that is, capitalist democracy, which he says is doing a poorer job of serving the common man—as the only hope of civilization! The measure of this whole argumentation may be gathered from the circumstance that all the facts Wallace gives are for Marxism, while for "democracy" he can advance only wishes and hopes.

THE point here, of course, is not to debate the relative merits of the two types of democracy, but to draw attention to the absurdity of claiming the title of democracy for ourselves while denying it to the only country which makes the very heart of democracy not only its precept but its practice. If the Vice-President feels it necessary to put into the record the undoubted distinction between capitalist democracy and Marxism, it can be done simply and without perverting the facts. It is only necessary to point out that capitalist democracy emphasizes the primacy of property and not of man, whereas Marxism makes the dignity of man and the supremacy of the human being the foundation and end of its whole outlook.

Generally, the distinction which Wallace sets up between Marxism and democracy is historically false. It is false from the very premise on which this distinction is based. According to Wallace, Marxism arises from Hegel, whereas bourgeois democracy was apparently spawned in other waters. Actually Hegel was but the German expression of the aspirations of bourgeois society in the epoch of the great French Revolution, whereas Marxism arose in opposition to idealistic Hegelianism, using its achievements in logic as the theoretical means of grounding this opposition.

Modern democracy arose with the bourgeois revolutions, beginning in seventeenth century England and followed by eighteenth century America and France. It had to be fought for by the people in stubborn and costly struggles against the "well-born and wealthy" who were essentially antagonistic to democracy and sought to restrict the power and influence of the people at every turn.

This was the case in our country from the earliest colonial days. Colonial society in America was a copy of England with all of its class distinctions. The laws bore hard on the poor in both countries and tended to perpetuate distinctions between patricians and plebeians. The concept of the sovereignty of the people, proclaimed later in the Declaration of Independence, had little effect on English or American politics, which were dominated entirely by the gentry. Prejudice against democracy was very powerful in the colonies. In fact, there was no greater agreement among dominant circles than on the contention that democracy meant licentiousness, anarchy, and oppression. Even after the victory of the Revolution, all kinds of

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schemes were discussed for curbing democracy.

It was Jefferson's historic contribution that he led the people's forces in those early days in the struggle to assure that the American republic meant American democracy. It is significant that there are forces even today among those who would frighten our country with the bogey of Communism who have not forgotten the early reactionary efforts to make an early distinction between republic and democracy and would like to revive it, showing that in the last analysis, the so-called fear of Communism is but an exaggerated expression of the fear of democracy.

These facts from our own history only illustrate the point that is so pertinent to any intelligent discussion of the relation of Marxism to democracy. This point is that in the history of modern democracy, it was the people and the people's movements that constituted the driving force in the struggle for democratic rights and the maintenance and extension of democracy, and that Marxism, itself a product of modern bourgeois society, arose and grew in the process of this democratic struggle. No one can ignore this fact without forfeiting the prospects of a truly fruitful and enlightening discussion on Marxism and democracy which, in the last analysis, cannot be understood without reference to the class forces that give life and substance to its history. In its origin, its practical development, its political conceptions and relations, Marxism has always been part of the democratic stream. Its very existence is identified with that class in society, the working class, which has most to gain from the complete realization of democracy. As a movement to extend and enlarge the rights of the common people, to promote their welfare, and ultimately to replace the economic and political rule of a privileged minority by the genuine rule of the exploited majority, Marxism is by its very nature of a democratic character.

"New Masses" is happy to publish "Tom Writes a Declaration" by Edwin G. Burrows, which has won the twenty-five dollar prize in our contest for the poem that best expresses the spirit of Thomas Jefferson in terms of the issues of today. Mr. Burrows is twenty-five years old and in 1940 won the Avery Hopwood award in poetry at the University of Michigan. He was born in Dallas, Texas, received a Bachelor of Arts degree at Yale and his MA at Michigan. He lives in Detroit, where he is program director of W45D, the FM station of the Detroit "News."

The judges of the contest were William Rose Benet, Eda Lou Walton, and Ridgely Torrence. There was considerable difference of opinion among them about the poems submitted, but Mr. Burrows' poem won by virtue of the fact that it was first choice of one of the judges and second choice of another. Because of the excellence of several other poems, "New Masses" has decided, on the basis of the judges' preferences, to award honorable mention to four of them. They are ". . . . For Us, the Living" by Robert Brittain of New York, "The Tree of Liberty" by James Newstreet of New York, "The Man Would Talk," by Kathryn Peck of Hollywood, Cal., and "Of the People in Their Parks" by the late Robert Bhain Campbell (this poem was submitted posthumously by a friend). "New Masses" hopes to publish these poems in later issues. We want to take this opportunity of thanking the many writers who responded to our contest by sending in poems.—The Editors.

Tom Writes a Declaration

Veined hand arched in a bridge from edge to edge
of the rubbed paper clinging electric to desktop—
(the pigeons bedded in the tower made
a careful mockery of clanging hours,
the weathercock ridiculously creaked,
like a clucking Tory by the wind persuaded,
spun deftly by the rump-nip of the breeze)

the hand wrote and the moving bridge designed
fierce waters for its spanning, black canals
to ferry meaning, freight of rich demands,
all but appeasements in a log of wrongs—
(curtains bellied with the faun-sweet lungs of June,
a roan horse clattered, the kernel of a shout
was stolen by distance leaving syllabic husks,
the whisk of wings in a vortex whorl of leaves)

and paused upon the precipice of anger,
writing not "life, liberty, and property"
but a dictum unpurloined from privilege,
a rabble gospel, heretic phrase compounded
of flight not tin-limbed weathercocks, of the horse
hard-ridden, the salutation of comrades, the free wind
in the whistling screens:

pursuit of happiness!

The day was
unbiblical, no walls at trumpets tumbled,
no Mosaic thunders roared or seas split,
nor empires of Solomon in brazen decay
crashed through the crust of humbled histories;
a goodwife in the dooryard hummed remembering
easy departure of four sons to the Continentals,
the old men's tankards in the ale-house clinked,
the talk was of siege, retreat, and partisans,
of Washington, Knox, Greene and Hamilton,
of taxes and tea, and all broad mouths were clenched
and even the toothless felt resolve like brands
burn in the gums, the rally-fires of freedom.
It is hard to believe a few words made such a difference,
but here in "pursuit of happiness" was a cause,
a thing to do, not goods or chattels owned,
not deathful pocket-loads or props of fame,
but a heart-call, a blood-seeking, a standard equal for all.
As the bullet blesses none, so the huntsmen now
had no distinction.

Tom made his choice.

And the hand
is raised, the lip alive, and weary eye warmed,
from Stalingrad, from Kharkov, Guadalcanal,
from Kiska, Sevastopol, Hunan and Rangoon,
Marseille, El Alamein, and Leningrad:
Thanks, Tom!

Cities by continent, men
by their occupations called (each enemy of
the Enormous Lie, the uncreed of unlove,
the horned gods valiant in their armored hate)
men of faith, like the coon-capped regulator,
making bright argument with shell and tracer
with pursuit of happiness not property
before them, a music of being, total possession,
crying from sandy wild, shocked covert and ruin,
ship, plane and tank, mud-ditch and jungle,
tangle and breach:

thanks, Tom!
WE SHALL PURSUE!

EDWIN G. BURROWS.

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Marx and Engels, the founders of modern Communism, developed their Communist views only in the course of their participation in the democratic struggle in Germany. They were members of that group of Young Hegelians which, as editors of the democratic press in the Germany of 1840-42, were in effect a democratic party, conducting democratic and republican agitation. The left wing of this group, led by Marx and Engels, developed rapidly into a German Communist Party. The party and the new scientific theory on which it was based arose in the same process and it immediately took its place in the international democratic movement of the day. It is indicative that Marx and Engels regarded French Communism and English Chartism, both of which contributed to the formation of Marx' and Engels' views, also as the logical development of modern democracy. Indeed, in the 1840's, when Marxism was born, those who had as their ultimate aim the abolition of private property were called the "pure democrats."

Marx and Engels regarded the proletariat as the leading force in the struggle for democracy. "The industrial proletariat of the cities," Engels declared in October, 1847, "has become the kernel of all modern democracy; the petty bourgeois and more so the peasants depend entirely upon its initiative. The French Revolution of 1789 and the most recent history of England, France and the eastern states of America demonstrate this."

Earlier, in September 1847, the *Communist Journal*, sponsored by Marx and Engels, criticized one of their opponents for allowing "his personal antagonism to certain Communists to prejudice his judgment of a party which stands in the front ranks of the armies fighting for democracy." The official *Manifesto of the Communist Party* issued in 1848 sets as the first goal of the working class "to win the battle of democracy," the elevation of the proletariat to political power.

THESE few facts show that Marxism, in both its theory and history, not only arose as part of the great democratic tradition of the past 300 years, but always regarded itself as its most advanced expression. Because of this, the new-born Marxist party established connections with the democratic movements of England and America. With respect to England, the link between the Chartists and the Marxists was established in 1846 by the Fraternal Democrats, the most radical wing of the British Chartist movement. They were also the link between the Party of Marx and Engels and the democratic forces of America with whom the Fraternal Democrats maintained relations from 1846-53. In 1851 Marx was able to speak directly to the American public when he became correspondent for the New York *Tribune*. What the *Tribune* thought of Marx' ten-year contribution as a correspondent it declared publicly in 1871 and again in 1883, a few days after Marx' death, when it reminded its readers of Marx' service to the *Tribune* which "enriched its columns with letters and articles on the various phases of European politics and society."

Marxism, of course, always appreciated the limitations of formal democracy. It never made a fetish of the word or treated it as an abstraction without a history or concrete social and economic character. But neither did it hold, as Vice-President Wallace erroneously declares of "old-line Marxianism," that "democracy is mere words." When, as late as 1850, Thomas Carlyle undertook to inform the world that "no nation has ever been able to exist on the basis of democracy," Marx and Engels replied by pointing to "the model North American republic." They had a detailed and accurate knowledge of its history, based also on the study of Jefferson's writings, but they never failed to understand that the achievement of the greater democracy of socialism was unlikely except as a transition from the more limited democracy of the bourgeois republic.

The democratic character of Marxism found its most vigorous and creative development in the theory and practice of the Russian Bolsheviks. It was no accident that it was precisely these brilliant exponents of Marxism, headed by Lenin and Stalin, who made the profoundest study and analysis of the question of democracy, its relation to the labor movement, and its place in the evolution of society. They had a magnificent and inspired grasp of the democratic process, its living forces and class relations. They were masters of the dynamics of democratic change, the science to which our own Thomas Jefferson had made such a significant contribution. For nearly two decades they were in the forefront of the struggle for democracy in czarist Russia, inscribing on their banner the slogan of the democratic republic. When history provided the opportunities for achieving their aims, they showed themselves to be precise and efficient and scientifically competent in the establishment and development of democracy, that unrestricted democracy of the masses which is free from the limitations imposed under capitalism by the domination of a privileged minority.

Like all genuine Marxists, the Bolsheviks were never opponents of democracy; indeed, they were always its most advanced and consistent supporters. As early as 1905, during the period of the first Russian Revolution, Lenin formulated the general position of Bolshevism on this question in the following words: "The very position the bourgeoisie as a class occupies in capitalist society inevitably causes it to be inconsistent in the democratic revolution. The very position the proletariat as a class occupies compels it to be consistently democratic. The bourgeoisie looks behind, is afraid of democratic progress which threatens to strengthen the proletariat. The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, *but by means of democracy it has the whole world to win.*" (Lenin, *Two Tactics*, p. 40.)

The writings of Lenin and Stalin are the twentieth century's greatest textbooks on democracy. And the authority of these writings is augmented by the fact that they are themselves at once producer and product of history's most significant events. Vice-President Wallace has correctly singled out the welfare of the common people as the heart and soul of democracy. What other movement and political theory has been characterized by such a warm and intimate relationship to the people, has so completely fulfilled the decisive test of the democratic ideal? It is these traits and qualities as much as the theory and principles, the slogans and objectives, of the Bolsheviks that reveal how truly democratic Marxism is.

The march of history, by creating the Soviet republic, has long confirmed the Marxist conception that bourgeois democracy is not the only or final form of democracy. The existence of two types of democracy at the present time, representing different stages of social development, has forever outmoded the notion that the bourgeois form is the exclusive test of a democrat. Today the survival of a free world demands that we recognize this irrevocable truth and act accordingly.

THIS war for national independence should help us greatly to deepen our understanding of democracy. If we can escape the stupefying effect of national arrogance, which is the earmark of reactionary imperialism, American democracy during this war can experience a great quickening and enhancement. It will do this especially if it does not hesitate to learn the technique of survival from the Soviet Union, just as the Soviet Union has not hesitated to learn many things from us. The observance of the 200th anniversary of Jefferson's birth, in sending us back to his work and writings, should aid us considerably in avoiding the pitfalls of a stereotyped, lifeless conception of democracy which condemns us to historical backwardness and keeps us from firmly grasping the political realities necessary for national survival today. Thomas Jefferson, better than any of the great figures of the American democratic tradition, embodies the thought and experience which demonstrate the historic link between Marxism and democracy. The study of his life and work will help us to grasp the deeper meaning of our history, to recognize our enemies and acknowledge our friends.

A. LANDY.

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WORLD CITIZEN

Sen. Elbert D. Thomas sees Jefferson's ideas as a guide to international cooperation. His "was a philosophy of progress," designed for "a world of free, cooperative men."

IT IS well that the people of the United States—and, I may say, the world in general—are celebrating the 200th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson at this time.

Jefferson was a great revolutionary, but he was also one of the most constructive statesmen the world has seen, and the Revolution he helped make so meaningful is still the greatest force on the earth. When he became the chief administrator of the United States he never lost sight of the fundamental theories underlying the American Revolution, and the institutions he helped create reflect to this day ideals which were his. He assumed that the principles of the American Revolution were for all mankind; therefore growth made that Revolution a living and developing organism, and the new order dreamed of by the founding fathers became a reality.

Next time you get an American silver dollar certificate, study it. Turn it over, read the motto of the Great Seal of the United States engraved on it, and feel the real driving power and the eternal spirit of the founding fathers. *Annuit coeptis novus ordo seclorum.* (He [God] has smiled on our undertakings.) This is important to the world today. The present war, if made purposeful, must too be given meaning.

Probably mankind's three greatest political, economic, and social revolutions will culminate with the end of this war. India's, China's, and Russia's revolutions must now be united and their objectives must be blended with the war aims of the victors, or the theories for which we are fighting will not become the facts of world life and habit.

It is to Jefferson, then, that the world must turn. In his philosophy and his administrative genius we shall find that world unity and outlook so essential now if we are to succeed. In Jefferson above all the world's great revolutionaries we have the key to the new world, for he was in very deed "Sometimes a Virginian, sometimes an American, always a citizen of the world." (Francis W. Hirst)

THE new world order must be built around the essence of Jeffersonian thought, the nature and the rights of man. It is the men, women, and children of the world that must become united if the clash of groups is to cease. Man, not the state, is the important element. States are made up of men, and governments were created by men and must become and remain their agents. When the German, the Italian, and the Japanese people tell that to Hitler,

Sen. Elbert D. Thomas

Mussolini, and Tojo, the American Revolution will have circled the globe, and God will bless the undertakings of men and the new order of the world will be established.

The American silver certificate is worth much more than a dollar. It carries the prayer and the hope of our founding fathers. And as they wrote, "*Annuit coeptis novus ordo seclorum,*" our American soldiers and sailors, as they move forward on the earth, say, "God bless our undertaking in this new order of the world." No man on earth will refuse an American dollar, and the time is fast coming when no man on earth will refuse to welcome our American boys and girls, for healing will be found in the wings of their victories.

THE philosophy of Jefferson goes forth with our American-trained soldiers and sailors, and the people of the world will soon note that "Man was destined for society," that "the same God who gave us life gave us liberty," that "our wisest policy is peace and friendship with all mankind," and that "it is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind."

Since ancient times men have conceived of some sort of world organization. In other words, the bad logic of strife between nations which resulted in the sacrifice of individuals for causes they knew very little about, brought about men's attempting to overcome the calamity of war by uniting nations. Seldom has the thought been to unite peoples. Our history writing has been for the most part of a nationalistic character. Our interpretation of man has always emphasized his intense loyalty to his immediate surroundings. That of course is necessary. No one wants to be disloyal to his family, or his friends, or his town. But a loyalty which shuts the door to fact gains a person nothing.

Jefferson's outstanding characteristics are expressed in his devotion to the idea of overcoming those slogans which bind men to untruths or to half-truths, to break down those loyalties which cause men to sacrifice for causes which end in destruction.

ARISTOTLE taught that man was a social animal, Jesus discovered the individual and his worth, and Jefferson gave that individual his proper place in society. When once Jefferson went the whole way and laid his philosophy of life, his interpretation of history, his political theories, and his hope for a new world on the fundamental basis of the nature of man, he pointed the way not only to men's political, moral, and spiritual salvation but also to the ultimate salvation of the world. His theory that man was destined for society, when coupled with the philosophy of progress which he accepted, gave us the real meaning not only of society but also of destiny. Never once does Jefferson look backward. His life, his hope, is forward-looking. The sacrifices of the present are justified only in a realization that from them future good will result. He was therefore a natural revolutionist, but his revolution was always what a people a century later called evolution.

Jefferson's faith in man was based on his belief that man is essentially good by nature, plus the notion that if man were properly trained his reactions would be good, plus the idea that in these men by nature good, properly trained, rests the surest and safest way to stability and to the good life for all.

Other men have said that men are good by nature and must be trained. Other men have talked about the general will or the theoretical unity of mind of mankind. Other men had accepted the notion of some sort of popular sovereignty whereby the will of the majority should have its way but the will of the minority should be protected. However, it was the genius of Jefferson that united the idea of a trained citizenry to the practical ballot box and thus kept reason and order in the world by the united wills of the majority of the well-trained persons. This is the key to the stability of modern democracy. With Jefferson we may well say, "Who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively?" and "The larger our association, the less it will be shaken by local passions."

That we have not attained in its fullest Jefferson's dream is of course admitted.

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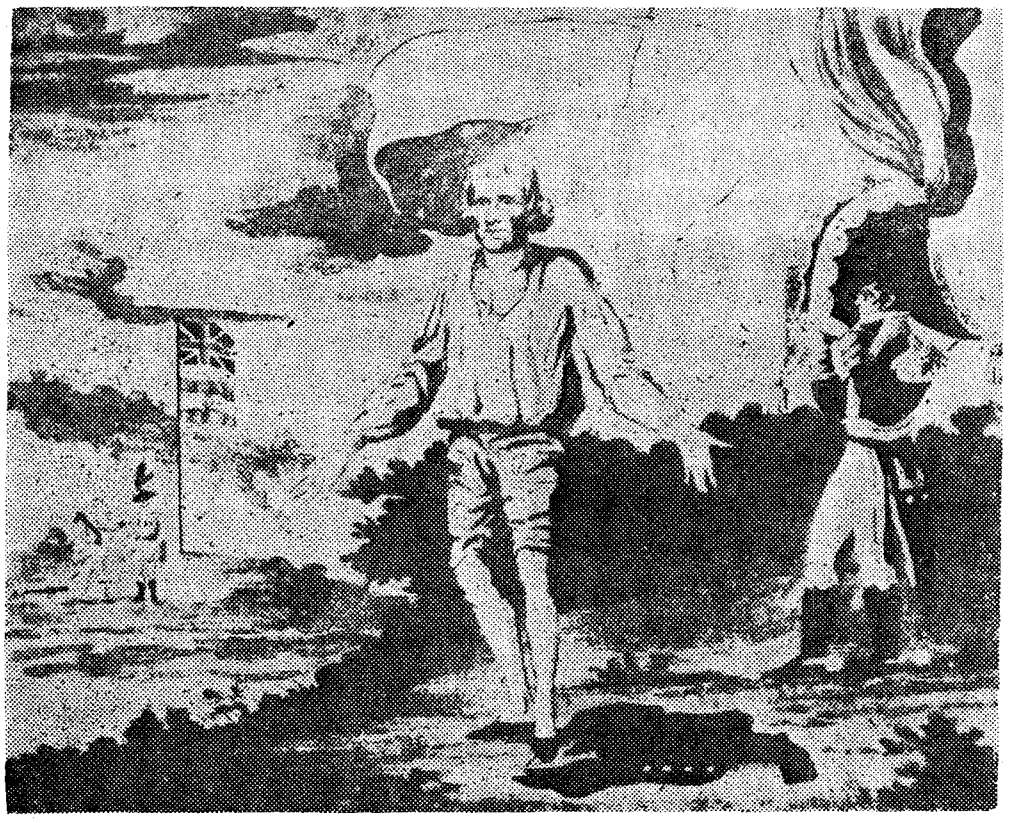
Admitted and lamented is the fact that in some places in our own country all of the people have not an equal chance for education, nor have they an equal chance at the ballot box, nor have they an equal chance for the ordinary opportunities of a good life. Still, more men have those chances than have ever had them before, and still the future possibility of a better world has never been blotted out.



The copperhead press of his day vilified Jefferson mercilessly. In these two cartoons by an artist who called himself Peter Pencil, Jefferson (who was completing his second term as President), is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't. The one above shows him being reduced to tatters by the Non-Intercourse Act, enacted at his request and designed to impose economic sanctions against Britain and France who were preying on American shipping. The one below shows Jefferson being robbed by John Bull and Napoleon in his efforts to arrange an amicable settlement of the foreign trade question.

If the concept of the United Nations is ever to be realized, it must be built upon Jeffersonian fundamentals. We cannot have a unity of nations without the democratic process; that is, the right of the small nation to exist side by side with a great nation must be a right that cannot be questioned. Minorities must be respected, even if minority will shall never be accepted.

Freedom for "me" only is of course not freedom. Liberty for the few is of course not liberty. The great fundamentals which were Jefferson's four freedoms—the right to have and to hold, the right to think and to aspire, the right to go and come, and the right to worship how or where we wish—are the only basis upon which a United Nations can be built.

To Jefferson there was no birth of freedom and liberty in this world. In its theoretical sense he taught that "The same God who gave us life gave us liberty." There have been those people and those nations in the world who have thought that liberty was meant just for them and not for all. They have followed that ideal only to lose both liberty and freedom themselves. Let us today remember that. Liberty is the choicest gift of the gods. If we are selfish with it, we lose it. If we grant it freely, we gain it. If we cherish it and protect it in others, we make it more certain for ourselves. That must be our approach if we are to make the concept of the United Nations a reality for the peoples of the world.

THAT Jefferson was not only a great American but also a great World Citizen is evident to the student of his writings. Said he, "Possessing ourselves the combined blessing of liberty and order, we wish the same to other countries. . . ." and "I sincerely pray that all the members of the human family may, in the time prescribed by the Father of us all, find themselves securely established in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and happiness." Although sadly, in some places, the ball of liberty has temporarily lost its momentum, is not the hope "that the whole world will, sooner or later, feel benefit from the issue of our assertion of the rights of man" the cause for which men are today giving their lives?

Jefferson's was a philosophy of progress. No generation is bound by the decisions of those who have passed away. Each age must meet and solve its own problems and must be left free to meet every new situation. His progressive philosophy is designed for a world of free, cooperative men. His is a message to all mankind. When the dictatorships have fallen of their own weight, when the philosophy of the single-will state has destroyed itself, then the Jeffersonian gospel of free men will rise to assume its destined place and lead a united world to freedom and happiness.

SEN. ELBERT D. THOMAS.

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OUR RELATIONS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

How they can be improved. The views of seven prominent Americans. A symposium.

On the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Jefferson's birth there can be no more pertinent subject for discussion than American-Soviet relations. For Russia is to us today what revolutionary France was in Jefferson's time — that France whose friendship he so ardently sought as necessary for our own national safety and well-being. To help clarify public opinion and contribute toward closer collaboration between the United States and the USSR, "New Masses" has asked a number of prominent Americans to give brief answers to four questions. The questions are:

1. What in your estimation is the status of American-Soviet relations?

2. What obstacles do you feel must be overcome in order to strengthen the ties between both countries?

3. What bearing do you think the question of a second front has on relations between Washington and Moscow?

4. In the light of present American-Soviet relations what do you think our government's attitude toward Finland should be?

We present a number of the answers already received. Others will appear in later issues. "New Masses" will comment on the symposium in a future issue.

Guy M. Gillette

US Senator from Iowa

Replying to the first two questions, we find the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics engaged with us and the other United Nations in a stupendous war effort. The successful outcome of this effort will require the use and expenditure of immense reserves of manpower and materiel. There is a genuine common interest in the successful prosecution of the war. Nothing should be allowed to disrupt this unity of purpose. There are joined in this war effort a large number of nations who feel that their future peace and security—political and economic—demands the defeat of the Axis powers. It is beside the point that some members of this coalition support different ideologies of government philosophies and likewise have rival interests in some industrial or commercial lines. All of these matters should and must be subordinated to the needs of the war effort in which we are fully united and to the successful prosecution of which we are firmly bound.

With reference to the question of a second front as bearing on the relations between Washington and Moscow, again may I say that it is a matter for the wise determination of the joint boards of strategy as to how and where mutual assistance can be given to the best advantage. Again there will be differences of opinion as to the proper application of our resources, and again the decision must be reached and acquiesced in to avoid irritation and division.

As to the attitude of the United States government toward Finland, the United States is at peace with Finland. The Soviet Union is at war with Finland. There would be no profit and real danger in trying to press to the front of present discussion a solution of that relationship which must and will depend upon the conditions pertaining when hostilities cease.

Max Lerner

Chief editorial writer of "PM," contributing editor of "New Republic"

1. The status of American-Soviet relations is better than it has ever been, but it can stand considerable improvement. Russia will emerge from the war as the great power on the European continent, America as the great power on our own continent. One will be the great socialist power, the other the great capitalist power. If these two peoples and their ruling groups can make a go of it together, then the stakes of world power and the conditions of world unity can be resolved. If they do not, each will polarize antagonistic forces in the postwar world, and the consequences will be revolutions, civil wars, and perhaps another and greater world war.

2. The great obstacle on Russia's side is a heritage of a quarter century of suspicion and mistrust of us. The great obstacle on our side is that, plus the State Department mind, which seems bent at present on launching an adventurist program of building a clerical-fascist, anti-Soviet bloc of nations in Europe.

3. When our armies actually invade the European continent, the Russian fear that we may be thinking of a negotiated peace will be considerably allayed. With such an invasion, however, will come intensified problems with respect to the nature of the new European governments.

4. I regard the Finnish ruling group as indistinguishable in political complexion from that of any other Nazi satellite. I believe, however, that it will be impossible to get Congress to declare war against Finland so long as the Soviet government is at peace with Japan.

Ferdinand C. Smith

National Secretary, National Maritime Union

1. There is room for much improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union. The misconceptions which were swept away by the fighting Red Army and the USSR's participation in the United Nations have not been followed by a genuine campaign by administration spokesmen to give the American people an accurate picture of the Russians. The falsehoods, half-truths, and bitter feeling fostered by the reactionary American press still remain with large sections of our people. Only occasionally does the truth break through. The recent issue of *Life* devoted to the USSR is a sample of the kind of thing this nation needs. There can be no permanent peace in this world unless our government realizes that the Soviet Union is here to stay and is a strong force for peace. The anti-Soviet cliques in the State Department and in other high places must be wiped out. Full trust, understanding, and collaboration between the four great powers of this globe are essential if this is to be the last world war.

2. To strengthen our ties with the Soviet Union, we must extend the hand of understanding and friendship. It must be an open hand. The recent statement by

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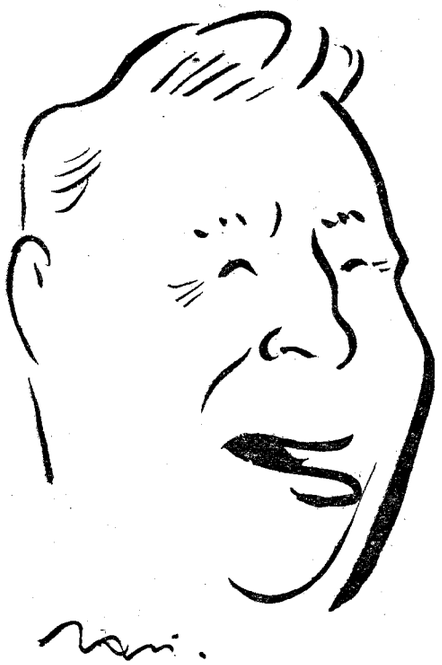

Sen. Guy M. Gillette

Admiral Standley weakens our bond. He should be removed. The small anti-Soviet clique in the State Department should be dismissed by the President. A Western Front should be opened. Our State Department should cease cooperating with fascists. The American people should be taught, by frequent administration speeches and by articles, how similar to us the Soviet people are and how their aims and ours coincide. These are the bare essentials to establish strong ties of friendship.

3. The absence of a second front will, of course, strain our relationship. While the Soviet Army taxes its resources to deal a fatal blow to the Nazis, we sit back and merely shout words of encouragement. This is not enough. One need not be a general or a genius to know that the time to beat the fascists is to hit them in the West while their full strength is utilized on the Eastern Front and they are constantly forced to drain manpower from France and Norway to keep their armies in Russia intact. The Russian people, who are making such great sacrifices to win this war and who can number a casualty in each family, feel let down. We Americans would feel the same way if the Russians refused to do anything while we were carrying the brunt of their battle.

4. We should declare war on Finland. The "Mannerheim Monastery" should be treated the same way as Japan, Germany, and Italy. As an official of the National Maritime Union, I know that many American seamen have been killed by Nazi planes which took off from Finnish bases and sent our ships to the bottom of the ocean. There is certainly no reason for the United States to give the fascists a listening post in Washington in the person of Finnish Ambassador Procope.

Genevieve Tabouis

Editor, "Pour La Victoire"

1. My answer to this question would be that the situation at the moment presents many difficulties. There are recriminations and accusations from both sides regarding the conduct of the war as well as the peace that will follow, and this attitude refers not only to questions of postwar boundaries but also to the actual organization of the future world in general.

2. The basic obstacle to good relations between the two countries lies in the mutual lack of confidence. This fact is at the root of the present difficulties. Frenchmen in America find many similarities between present American-Soviet relations and Franco-Russian relations before the war at the time of the Franco-Russian alliance.

In one of his famous speeches President Benes recently indicated that he believed one of the chief causes of the failure of the last peace and the existence of the present catastrophe could be traced to the lack of confidence which most countries of Europe felt toward Soviet Russia. This caused Russia to retire behind her own walls, to live in constant suspicion of her neighbors, and finally to realize that she must rely only on her own ability to defend her basic interests. Worse still, this suspicion caused the Soviet Union to live in fear that one coalition or another was being organized against her.

3. The opening of a second front would have a truly miraculous effect on these relations and its opening would probably establish that very confidence which is lacking today.

4. As a French journalist I have always been very astonished to see the extraordinary preference that Americans have shown for the Finns as compared to their feelings for the Russians. The Finns are certainly not without interest, for their country was the first to be attacked by Soviet Russia and because they fought bravely. But the question is not whether the Americans like the Finns, the Czechs, the Hindus, or the Croats, but rather how

Genevieve Tabouis

Ferdinand Smith

should the Americans act to establish a lasting peace after the war has been won militarily.

If the Atlantic Charter is to permit all countries, apart from Germany, Italy, and Japan, to reestablish their frontiers, then I believe a lasting peace is doubtful. The interpretation of the Atlantic Charter should permit the countries of Europe to group themselves into blocs of states and each state should, if necessary, be ready to sacrifice prestige or to readjust its frontiers if such action is going to make the peace more durable. This brings us to the realization that the old conception of patriotism must change. It can no longer be interpreted as establishing and defending the largest and strongest individual state. Each citizen of the future must learn to uphold and defend, without blushing, the idea that he finds it compatible with his patriotism to renounce a few miles of his land if that will help maintain the peace of his group of states and the peace of Europe in general.

Ales Hrdlicka

Curator, Smithsonian Institution

1. The status of American-Soviet relations has been improving wholesomely during the past months.

2. The main obstacle, on our part, is insufficient direct knowledge of the Russian people and hence the understanding of them and their problems; as to the Russians, they admire us, we are in many ways their standard, but there, too, is an incomplete understanding of us, and hence some distrust as to our intentions.

3. The question of a second front to Russia is much the same as our Pacific front is to Australia; both countries were and still are in great danger.

4. Our attitude toward Finland is rather anomalous.

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Arthur Upham Pope

Chairman, Committee for National Morale

1. American-Soviet relations are, on the whole, good. Americans now know that they were misinformed and misled about Russia. They are now astonished to see their military and industrial capacity so high, surprised at their magnificent unity, where they had been led to expect disintegration and collapse. They are aware that Russia is contributing vastly to victory, saving American lives and helping toward a better future. The Soviets on their side have discovered our food, clothing and military supplies, concrete evidence that we are in the fight with them. America is discovering the real Russia, and feels for her increasing respect, a grateful and friendly interest. These attitudes are too fundamental and too genuine to be frustrated by the short-sightedness and ill will of minority groups, however powerfully placed.

2. First, on her side, America must appreciate with a vividness and detail she has not yet shown, the extreme difficulties that confront the Russian government and people, and the sacrifice and deprivation that the entire population are making for victory. This appreciation of Russia's achievements and problems ought to make us reluctant to criticize. Our military men have complained that they were not allowed to see the battle fronts. There is good reason for it, and that is a matter for Russia to decide.

We have complained that the Russian people did not know the extent of American contributions. The Russian government has shown such consummate skill in morale-building policies that we might leave the information services to its own judgment. We have complained that Russia is secretive. Thank Heaven she knows how to keep her military secrets—which is better than we have done! The Russians know that some of our military experts have until recently systematically disparaged Russian military capacity and prospects. And if they are suspicious of us, they have had twenty years of good reasons for being uneasy about our attitude. Certain religious, financial, industrial groups, to say nothing about those in government circles, are suspicious and a little fearful of Russia. Our plan for an army larger than we can equip or transport without deducting from material for those actually on the fighting fronts has been approved by some as a sort of Big Stick that might be handy at the Peace Conference, a possible counter-weight to the influence of Russian achievement and sacrifices. Why should the Russians be enthusiastic about this?

Arthur Upham Pope

Jefferson on Russia

"IT WILL interest you to know that in the year 1809 the President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, wrote as follows to his Russian friend M. Dashkoff:

" 'Russia and the United States being in character and practice essentially pacific, a common interest in the rights of peaceable nations gives us a common cause in their maintenance.' "

—From a speech by President Roosevelt at Savannah, Ga., Nov. 19, 1933

Our government has played a political game of cooperation with fascists and reactionaries in France, Spain, North Africa and wherever it seemed to promise a temporary advantage—particularly our long appeasement of Japan, in effect arming an implacable enemy of Russia right at her doorstep.

3. The long delay in opening the second front undoubtedly has damaged relations between Washington and Moscow. The Germans have exploited our delay, deluging the Russian front lines with posters—"Where is the second front?" The Chamberlain government really wanted Russia to be involved in a destructive war with Germany while they sat peacefully on the sidelines. It must not be forgotten that the Western allies tried to fight a safe war on the cheap; and scarely lifted a finger even to bring pressure on the then vulnerable Western Front while Poland went down in an abyss of horror. The Russians believe that we should be willing to take chances, and that the quick establishment of some kind of second front on the Continent, even though in itself not permanently successful, would have been a diversion of immense value to Russian operations, and an ultimate advantage to the Allied cause.

4. Our attitude toward Finland should recognize the fact that while the Finnish people are deserving our good will, they have been victimized by a reactionary government ready for reckless adventure; that Mannerheim was a czarist general, born in Sweden, who said he was proud to fight on Hitler's side; and he and his associates threw Finland into an unnecessary war which has brought her to the verge of famine and ruin, has cost our Allies many thousands of lives and destruction. Because of Finnish participation, American seamen have been drowned and American ships, loaded with the finest products of military industry, for which we have toiled and paid dear, have been sent to the bottom. Finland has had plenty of time to acknowledge her errors and to extricate herself from the mess in which the ambitions of a few involved her. The time for toleration, evasion, or appeasement has passed. Finland should be told at once that she must get out of the war.

Frederick M. Eliot

President, American Unitarian Association

1. The present precarious status of American-Soviet relations warrants the utmost effort to create better understanding and stronger bonds of sympathy between the two nations.

2. To accomplish this, we must overcome the prejudice which, in a wholly undiscriminating fashion, condemns everything Russian as communistic and atheistic.

3. The establishment of a second front on the Continent of Europe would, in the minds of most Americans, go a long way toward strengthening our sense of solidarity with Russia.

4. Few problems are more complicated than the question of America's attitude toward Finland. The determining consideration should be to prevent Germany's using Finland in any way as a base for attack upon Russia.

Frederick M. Eliot

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JEFFERSON SAID . . .

Quotations from the less known writings of the author of the Declaration of Independence, proving he meant every word of that document. A Virginian who hated slavery.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS, *by Philip S. Foner. International Publishers. Paper-bound, 25c; cloth, 85c.*

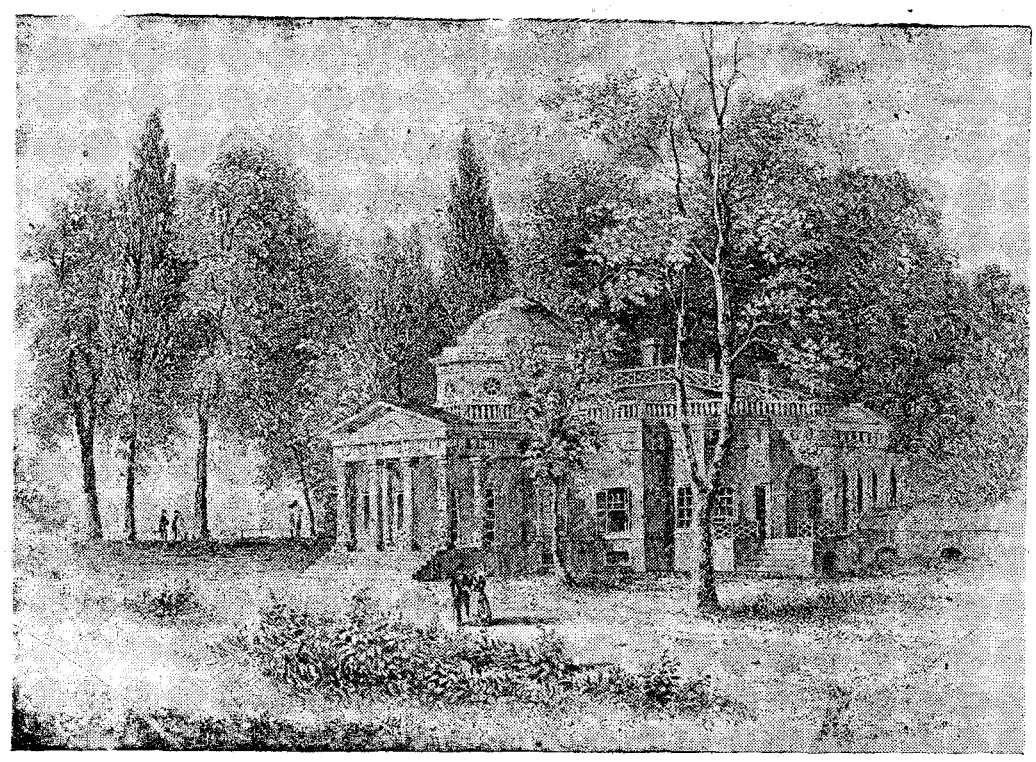
ALL of us were brought up on the Declaration of Independence, with its eloquent summary of the revolutionary philosophy of our forefathers; and very few of us, unfortunately, have ever read anything else that Jefferson wrote. Very few even know of the paragraph denouncing George III for maintaining the horrors of slavery, which slaveholders and slave-traders succeeded in having removed from the Declaration. Because the flaming words of the Declaration have been repeated so often by demagogues and because its full program has not even today been secured in our country, many have adopted the cynical belief, spread by corrupt politicians and publishers, that those words were written, with tongue in cheek, for the purpose of deluding the masses. With study of Jefferson's writings and his life, however, one realizes that he meant every word of the Declaration, that he was as sincere a leader as the people ever had. That he did not succeed in freeing man from all forms of exploitation in his own day was not his fault, but due to the historical limitations of his time.

The quotations presented by Philip Foner are not isolated gems culled from writings otherwise confused or mediocre. They are typical of Jefferson's whole work. Many of his most eloquent passages are necessarily absent because of their length. Those chosen have been selected and organized to reveal his internationalism, his democracy, his hatred for slavery, his religious and educational and scientific opinions. For every quotation given, scores and sometimes hundreds equally good might easily have been selected; I stress this because this booklet is genuinely representative of the man, and will undoubtedly provoke the reader to further study of his life.

THIS selection makes it clear that Jefferson stood absolutely for the freedom of all nations, and regarded national freedom as the absolute right of the majority within the nation to rule. Jefferson recognized that majority rule meant rule by the laboring population. He worked for collaboration among peoples of all nations as the means for preserving peace, but advocated force when no other means existed for establishing or maintaining freedom.

A significant letter included here recognizes the equality of the Negro people in ability with all other people. Jefferson had always maintained that all peoples, regardless of abilities, had equal rights. However, he had ventured the opinion in his youth that the intellectual powers of Negroes were inferior, although even then he had declared that "The opinion that they are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination must be regarded with great diffidence." (Writings, Ford ed., Vol. 3, p. 249.) He then urged scientists to study the question, pointing out that lack of opportunity might masquerade as lack of ability. In 1809 M. Henri Gregoire sent him detailed data on the achievements of Negroes in freedom, and Jefferson replied that he was glad "to find that in this respect (their grade of understanding) they are on a par with ourselves." This, coming out of a Virginia background, demonstrates how sincere was Jefferson's belief in the equality of man. Similarly, passages on education and science reveal that Jefferson did not stop at passive belief, but offered a positive program for the material and cultural advancement of mankind; these sections clarify his role as one of the greatest predecessors of the Marxists.

Foner's introduction is a succinct account of Jefferson's life, and reveals clearly how the battle for Jeffersonian democracy is still being fought today. There are only two passages with which I would like to differ. Jefferson's father is inaccurately characterized as belonging "definitely to the Virginia aristocracy"; whereas it was his mother who belonged to the Virginia aristocracy, his father being a pioneering small farmer who represented the democratic back-country in the Virginia House of Burgesses. Holdings of 1,000 acres, like the elder Jefferson's, were fairly frequent in those days, often being obtained by sons of small farmers who never belonged to the Tidewater aristocracy. The Tidewater planters frequently owned hundreds of acres; the Lord Fairfax estate covered 6,000,000, an area equal to that of New Jersey. Obviously the elder Jefferson was no hereditary aristocrat of this group, and it was from his father and his small farmer neighbors that Thomas Jefferson first derived his democratic views. He grew up in no colonial mansion, but a simple frame house; a child of the frontier, shaped by



Monticello, Jefferson's home—one of the many buildings which he designed.

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the frontier. The small farmers remained his neighbors and close friends throughout his life.

ELSEWHERE Foner declares that the 1801 election has been "correctly" called a revolution. This seems to me inaccurate; no class was overthrown in 1801, there was no break in economic life, the form of the state was not changed. The Federalists were not even completely driven from power, but remained in control of the Judiciary and of most Executive offices. What the election of 1801 did accomplish was the preservation of democracy and of the fruits of the Revolution of 1776-89. Jefferson's election, in a word, prevented counter-revolution. It made possible democratic reforms, improvement of the material condition of the people, internal national development, and genuine national defense. More than that it did not even attempt.

These criticisms, however, are slight in comparison with the total strength of this work, which should stimulate a greater interest in Jefferson. The philosophy of Jefferson was derived from John Locke and resembled eighteenth century French philosophy, though it was in many respects more advanced than the latter. It formed one of the main ideological sources of Marxism. No American can fully understand the character of our democracy without studying the philosophy on which it was founded; and no one can understand Marxism who has not mastered that same democratic philosophy. Every Marxist is first and foremost a democrat, nor can anyone who is not a democrat be a Marxist. FRANCIS FRANKLIN.

More Poetry Than Wisdom

THE WISDOM OF INDIA AND CHINA, *compiled and edited by Lin Yutang. Random House. $3.95.*

THIS generous compilation is so rich in literature, otherwise quite inaccessible, that readers should not allow what I must say in disagreement with some of Mr. Lin's selections and judgments to discourage them from the book. No better collection, even to my dissident taste, exists. And even were all that I have no patience for discarded, more than enough would remain to leave a substantial and rewarding book.

To begin with Mr. Lin's concept of wisdom. In my experience the most serviceable definitions of abstract terms are those given through examples. In this case, using the compiler's selections as the examples, we find that the national "wisdom" appears to Mr. Lin to be the national tactic of adjustment to life. Such a definition, direct or implied, might have been anticipated from the author of the hedonist *Importance of Living.*

This helps to explain the almost total absence of another wisdom, of what we might call the wisdom of readjustment, of dissent, of exploration, of change. Neither India nor China have been without that wisdom. But representative examples of it are missing here, except for some epigrams of Lu Hsun and the author's comments on the traditional Chinese sanction of revolution as a sign that Heaven has withdrawn its mandate from a corrupted dynasty; and the further exception that Mr. Lin may put some aspects of religious change in that category.

It helps to explain, also, the oversimplifications that characterize Mr. Lin's comments. Entertaining these comments are, but in their oversimplifications their service to clarity sometimes seems dubious, for they give off glow rather than light. Like his insistent preference for the approximate as against the exact, they act to surround a subject in an edgeless generalization that appears to have the aim not of reaching a solution but of losing the question in it.

Typical of such a question-absorbing simplification is Mr. Lin's posing of the differences between India and China as a matter of too much religion for one and not enough for the other. It remains unclear whether he regards Indian "spirituality" as the only important aspect of Indian life; or whether he regards all the ritualism in Indian daily life and the caste relations in Indian society as "spiritual." And Mr. Lin makes no attempt, at least in sight of the reader, to examine into the historical development of India for what it might show of causes for its "excessive" religiousness.

Mr. Lin suggests that a Jew, with his religious background, might better understand "spiritual" India than others. This holds a truth though it is hardly what I think Mr. Lin had in mind. There are actually less resemblances than differences between the religiousness of the Jews and of the Hindus. The differences have been determined by different economic development, physical environment, and historical circumstances; and the resemblances have been similarly determined.

The most significant resemblance, the strength of communal religious practice, appears to derive from a resemblance in the historical situation of the two peoples. For many centuries both have been frustrated of complete nationhood. It is perhaps not generally known that for many centuries before the English, India had been under other conquerors. The long vistas of Indian spirituality correlate with the long vistas of Indian subjection. It is not surprising that the two peoples, frustrated, though in different ways, from mature national development, should have made similar use of the binding power of the religious community to preserve their national identity.

That Indian ritual observance need not be "spirituality" is another thing a Jew could understand. In daily life and even on holidays a "religious" people, in the usual sense, manage to whittle down the "spiritual" to the point where it does not inconvenience their worldly life. From the records at hand, as I can read them, there is no more than the general human average of "spirituality" to be found in India; though it does have, for causes more significant than this consequence, a larger proportion and a larger variety of religious professionalism than other countries.

I HAVE gone into all this to indicate what manner of things Mr. Lin avoids in his discussions of Oriental wisdom. He happened, as it appears, not to be interested. I happen to think that if he had, he might have turned up other Indian "wisdom." As a matter of fact, in the case of India, by limiting himself to its religious literature and folklore, Lin leaves large areas of Indian life unexplored. What his selections reflect is Indian life exclusively of the remote past and mainly of its religious aspects, to a degree that is excessive even for an "excessively" religious India. Modern India is entirely untouched. However, I am certain that India of the present will loom larger in her history than the ages of the Mahabharata, and that the wisdom of a Palme Dutt or a Nehru, among other of our Indian contemporaries, will displace much in future compilations that Mr. Lin admits in his.

But it is not only for such reasons that the Indian section is by far the weaker section of the book. Mr. Lin seems to have been overawed by the superabundance of Indian religion to the point of being affected in his literary taste, which, throughout the section on China, is alert and discriminating. A number of the selections for India approach absurdity. It is stretching the point far indeed to present Sir Edwin Arnold's genteel and Victorian *Light of Asia* as Indian wisdom, even though it is based on an Indian biography of Buddha. And to me it is a sheer offense to literary taste to reproduce Romesh Dutt's translation of the "Ramayana" in a volume which contains Helen Waddell's, Arthur Waley's and Witter Bynner's translations of Chinese poetry. The only usefulness it could have, it seem to me, is to serve as an illustration of how the cliches and banalities of one's own language seem to regain their original force for a cultured foreigner like Mr. Dutt. But this hardly justifies a place for them in an anthology that otherwise maintains a high literary standard.

Why Mr. Lin chose these and omitted masterpieces like "Shakuntala" and "The Little Clay Cart," both available in good translations, remains a mystery to me. He explains that these are both available, already, to American readers. But "The Light of Asia" and the Dutt "Ramayana"

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are even more readily available. If only as a hedonist, considering the infinitely greater reading pleasure these masterpieces offer and their infinitely broader view of Indian living, I would have expected him to choose these above all.

At this point I leave the debit statement and return to my beginning. The debits totaled up, there remain many hundreds of pages that are fresh and important and conveniently put together and charmingly interpreted. In the Chinese section many aspects of life are given in the best of first-hand ways—its literature. A discovery for me was "Four Chapters of a Floating Life," the memoir of a Chinese intellectual of the last dynasty. It is sensitive and modest and frank and a beautiful and a very sad book. The pathos of resignation suffuses it. Though resignation is at the opposite emotional end I felt in it the same torment that marks the different Western literature of frustration. Mr. Lin may disagree with me but I find it as sad . . . as sad, for example, as a book like Dostoyevsky's *Poor People*.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

From the Paste Pot

SOVIET RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY, 1939-1942, *by David J. Dallin. Translated by Leon Dennen. Yale University Press, $3.75.*

THIS volume on Soviet foreign policy is a super-colossal job of cutting and pasting without regard to selection of sources or internal consistency. Using headlines, White Books, unpublished reports, to reconstruct this immediate period of history, Mr. Dallin employs the "academic" rather than the "under-the-bed" technique of a John Scott. Dallin's numerous footnotes are of such fine primary sources as *Poslednye Novosti* (the Paris Social-Democratic newspaper), Havas, and the New York *Times*, as well as some official or semi-official documents. For example, Alsop and Kintner are the source of the direct quote of what Molotov said to the German ambassador in May 1939.

Who is Mr. Dallin? He belongs to the right wing of the Russian Social Democrats grouped around the *Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik* (in opposition to the left wing Social Democrats of the *Novy Put*)—in other words one of the most reactionary anti-Soviet groupings in the newly arrived emigration from Europe. According to the jacket blurb, he was an "opposition deputy" in the Moscow Soviet until 1921, but has since lived outside the USSR.

And what is the line Dallin seeks to establish by dogmatic repetition through pages and pages of plain and fancy assorted facts and misfacts, flecked with footnote references? It is simple. It consists of three easy steps: (1) "The foreign policy of Soviet Russia was one of voluntary and proud isolation"; (2) Although this policy

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BRITAIN'S REACTION

to the

ALTER-EHRLICH CASE

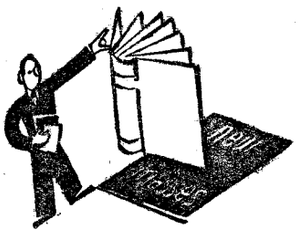
by **D. N. PRITT, M.P.**

of "self-isolation" was proved wrong by the Nazi invasion, "it was not discarded even after June 22, 1941. A coalition war was inconsistent with the cherished and carefully nurtured theory of a 'third power' [role in world affairs]. . . . Here was a separate war . . ."; (3) In view of this long-cherished Stalinist policy of isolation, "a serious study of Russia's foreign policy during the past few critical and fatal years cannot limit itself to polite expression of uncritical gratitude. . . . The great war in which Russia is now engaged has and will result not only in deeds of heroism and sacrifices, but also in a crisis in her entire ideological and political system. Upon the outcome of this crisis depends not only the future of Russia but also, to a large extent, the postwar world order."

The Soviets, Mr. Dallin declares, never did want international cooperation. But Vice-President Wallace read history differently in his fine tribute to Litvinov on November 8: "Litvinov, in those days when Hitler was rising to power, wanted to preserve the peace by banding together the non-aggressor nations." Whose idea was the indivisibility of peace; the strengthening of the League Covenant; the establishment of regional security pacts; international aid to Abyssinia, Spain, China, and Czechoslovakia?

THE Soviets, Dallin says, consider that there are two separate wars now. But which leader of the United Nations repeatedly uses the phrase "the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition"? In his recent November 6 address and his very first war speech on July 3, 1941, Stalin clearly stated the singleness of the war, referring to Churchill's and Welles' statements in support of the Soviet fight: "In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. . . . Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties. It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies." Finally, Mr. Dallin concludes, unless there is a change in the entire "ideological and political system" of the Soviet Union, the other nations will be unable to cooperate with it in the postwar world. How different is this statement from the hogwash that has been streaming lately from the Berlin radio? Here again is the idea of the "Communist menace" parading under Social Democratic objectivity.

The hodge-podge of conflicting statements, the myriad of details that fill the pages of Mr. Dallin's book, tend to obfuscate all issues and trends. While space does not permit a full critical review of the book's factual content, a few of the errors and distortions may be indicated. Dallin states that the Soviet-German pact of 1939 was the first Soviet non-aggression pact



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without the "escape clause." Actually, all Soviet non-aggression and neutrality pacts up to 1932 lacked this clause, which was typical only of the agreements signed in a context of a collective security system. The China treaty of 1937 likewise had no such clause. The fact that the German pact lacked it (as did the subsequent pact with Yugoslavia) was a result directly related to the breakdown of collective security.

Dallin further states that all other agreements signed by the USSR have come into force only after ratification. The 1937 treaty with China came into force on the day of signature. Such points are easy to check and the impression that facts have been manipulated to prove preconceived theories is felt over and over again. Another example: On page 180 Dallin says: "Hull mentioned the fact that no progress had been made toward settling American claims against Russia," clearly implying that the Soviets had refused to try to eliminate this source of friction between the two countries. But while Dallin uses *Mission to Moscow* as a source on a number of points, he neglects to refer to the revelation made by Ambassador Davies—namely, that in 1938 Stalin and Molotov, for the specific purpose of improving American-Soviet relations, put forward a proposal for the settlement of this matter, the proposal was not taken up for purely internal American reasons.

READING this book serves only two useful purposes. It helps to identify one of the "experts" on the USSR now being cultivated by the New School for Social Research—Dr. S. Schwartz, "who left Paris at the end of February 1940 on an unofficial [sic] mission to Helsinki, on behalf of the Russian Social Democratic Party." And it throws light on the line now being worked out for us on behalf of what might be called "William Henry *Chamberlinism*" in American life, to disrupt American-Soviet cooperation and understanding. It once again illustrates the danger to America of relying on professional anti-Soviet Russian refugees from Paris, Prague, Berlin, and Birmingham for information about, and interpretation of, the USSR. The aura of learning and of authenticity, due to their Russian origins and academic connections, apparently makes these refugees highly acceptable to certain American universities and the Foundations which support them—and, unhappily, to some of our government departments. Yale University Press, which published this book, should be more careful, especially after the expose of its *History of the Ukraine*, by Michael Hrushevsky, under the supervision of its Prof. George Vernadsky, which was published by the University for the Ukrainian National Association, with acknowledgement to Luke Myshuha, editor of the fascist Ukrainian paper *Svoboda*. MARGARET SALES.

Plus and Minus

THE BEAR THAT WALKS LIKE A MAN, *by Stanley J. Marks. Dorrance. $3.*

IN THESE days when books unfriendly to the Soviet Union and the Red Army are still quite plentiful, a friendly volume on the subject is, of course, welcome. Even when it fails to achieve the stature of a powerful stroke for unity and understanding, it is a contribution in the right direction.

Stanley J. Marks' *The Bear That Walks Like a Man* is really an overgrown pamphlet and, in part, a rewrite of books by D. N. Pritt, Max Werner, and Sergei Kournakoff. Some of the material has not even been brought up to date and certain facts which were true in the days when Max Werner wrote his first book, *The Military Strength of the Powers* (1939), but are outdated now, have found their way into Marks' volume, *talis qualis*. For instance, the description of the Soviet TG-5/T heavy tank, weighing 100 tons, has been culled from page seventy-three of Werner's book. Since then the Red Army has done away with this type of tank and its heaviest land cruiser today is the KV, weighing approximately sixty tons. That is just one little example.

The book is also studded with inexactitudes. For instance, the author speaks of the British newsletter *The Week* as "a London letter subscribed and published for Big Business in England." Poor Claude Cockburn! we wonder how he will feel when he reads this passage.

The author speaks of "Batum oil fields" which do not exist, Batum being just the "orifice" of the pipeline running from Baku. Later on Marks even speaks of the "oil fields of Tiflis" which are also nonexistent. On page 268 we find that "Hitler was going to gamble on a drive in the Crimea . . . to establish contact with the Japs in India"—which is strange, to say the least. In speaking of "globular" strategy (p. 337), the author carries on in a rather highhanded way. He lands Allied troops in Murmansk and turns over Siberian bases to the US Air Force. In questions of theoretical strategy, Mr. Marks appears to be a competent football player, but this comparison of the "blitzkrieg" with a game of football hardly contributes to the understanding of the essence of lightning war.

In my opinion, the most valuable part of the book is the recital of the events leading up to Munich and the second world war. This part is well constructed and the thumb nail sketch of diplomatic intrigue and betrayal is quite clear. Mr. Marks has in many places done a useful job which I regret is marred by unfortunate factual errors. The work deserves to be read, however.

COLONEL T.

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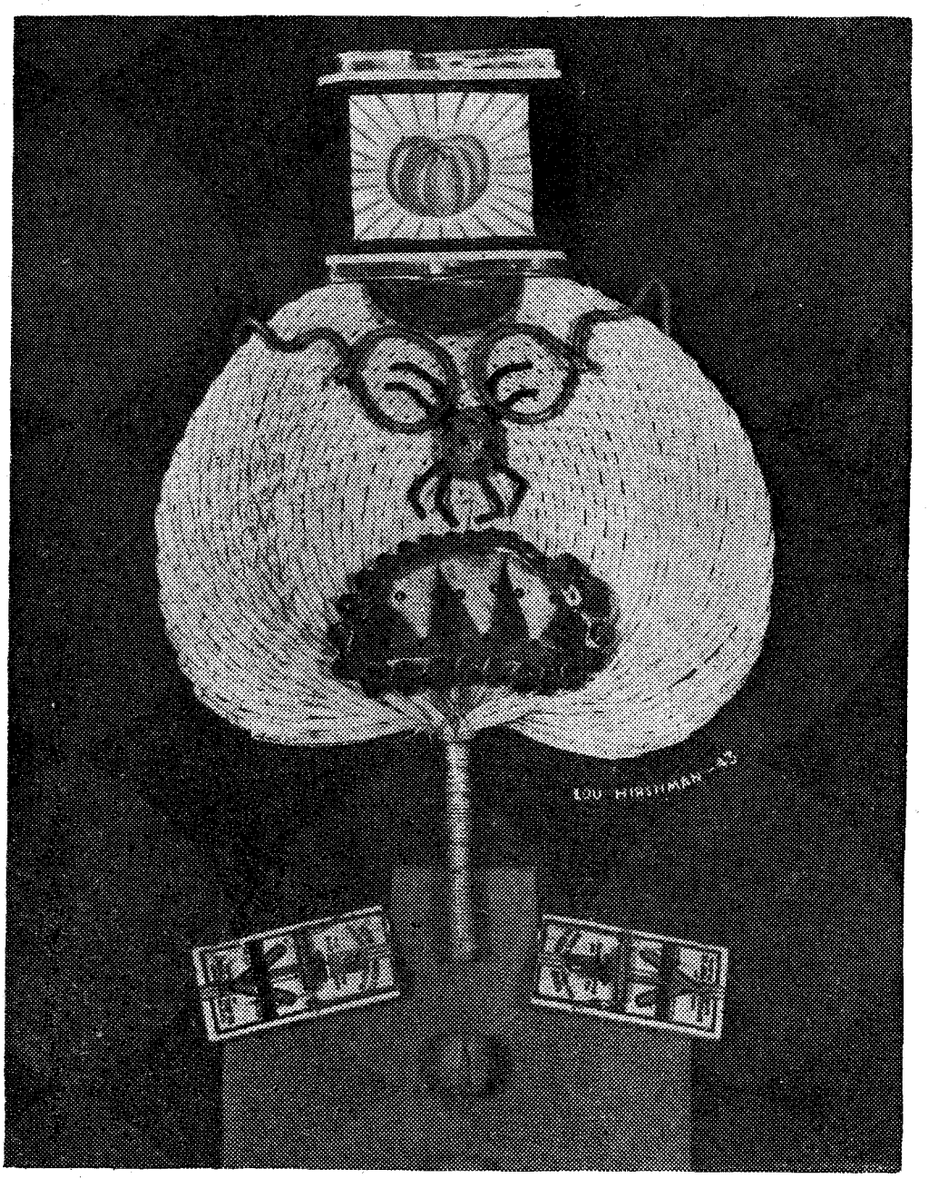
THE MOON IS UP

A strong film out of a weak novel. . . . Vividly executed, the screen version of Steinbeck's book is marred only by a false premise.

THE peculiar genius of the screen for breathing life into dry bones was never more strikingly display than in Nunnally Johnson's admirable film translation of *The Moon Is Down*. At best the disjointed skeleton of a book, Steinbeck's story offended by brittle writing; by sentimental characterization; and most of all by reducing the entire conflict to a debate between one philosophical Norwegian and one philosophical German. The result was as unreal as Alice's tea party. But in translating this unfinished sketch to the screen, Nunnally Johnson has pruned away ill-chosen language and easy emotionalism, simultaneously expanding the book's unrealized good ideas into vigorous sequences. Steinbeck covered the quisling's pre-invasion machinations in a few lines; the film shows you a quisling at work. You see the town's twelve soldiers on their picnic, strain your eyes skyward with them as the planes come over and the invading parachutists descend, run with them to the defense of their village; and you wait in ambush with the Nazi machine-gunners who shoot them down. You are in the mine when the German officer bullies the Norwegians; with them you hate his snarl and his gloating tyranny, and move unconsciously with Alex Morden as he swings his pick and kills the brute. The cruelty, the murders, and worst of all the blank incomprehension of human decency, which mark the occupying Nazis, are not things generalized about but things seen. Your anger rises, seeing them.

WITH Hitler's voice screaming about Norway, and Hitler's hand smashing down on the map of Norway, and the murderous thudding of the Nazi drums, the film creates all the background its story needs; and relates, before even the screen credits are over, the little mining town to the great theme of the war. Thenceforward it concentrates on the townsfolk and the Nazis. The people are confused at first; unorganized and unarmed; grimly, through agony, they become an iron weapon of war. The Nazis are arrogant at first, secure in their easy conquest and their contempt of men; but they disintegrate, they doubt, they become hysterical, they quarrel among themselves, and they go under. One dies in the mine, one dies trying to escape from himself in a Norwegian girl's bedroom, one lies spitted on his own bayonet outside a dynamited power plant. Those who survive stand in front of the dangling corpses of their victims, at the end of the film, and stare at the Norwegian answer to these hangings—the indispensable iron mine blown up in broad daylight. They stare with eyes that foreknow defeat.

This vivid and honest presentation of physical fact is accompanied by vivid and honest characterization. The simpering Nazis of the book have been replaced by nasty and thoroughly believable "young



"Portrait of Tojo"—constructed by Lou Hirshman from a palm leaf fan, snakes, a spider, rats' heads, a tomato can, and mouse traps. This is one item in the current Victory Workshop exhibition, which covers three floors at the New School for Social Research. The exhibit, titled "Art, a Weapon for Total War," includes almost every conceivable medium of mass art education for victory, from fine art to comic books. Next week's New Masses will carry an article about the display and about the Victory Workshop itself, which is a section of the Artists League of America.

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gods of war," as the mayor calls them bitterly. Only one is wistfully lonely enough to question his way of life—an unfortunate who wants to be a decent man and a Nazi at the same time; and is destroyed by this insoluble conflict. In the screen handling of this character he emerges as a study of the tragedy of Nazi education, the perverting of good human material into a creature as revolting as an octopus; and pitiable though he is, his death is not mourned.

Mr. Johnson's script and production combine well with Irving Pichel's direction, and both are given meaning by the actors. It is astonishing to see the shadowy figures of the book emerge so clearly in flesh and blood. Peter Van Eyck is particularly good as the self-destroying lieutenant, Henry Travers as Mayor Orden, Dorris Bowdon as Molly. Lee J. Cobb takes the few lines of Dr. Winter and miraculously evokes a complete personality with them. It is he, perhaps, more than the somewhat too discursive mayor, who sums up the people's resistance in his rock-like strength; and the moment in which he speaks for the people to the Nazi colonel is one of the most memorable in the film. As the latter, Cedric Hardwicke manages a difficult task superlatively well. An intelligent and cynical man who foresees the doom of his tribe, Colonel Lanser's one concern is to march toward that doom as efficiently as possible. The combination of ruthlessness and weary fatalism conveyed by Sir Cedric in this role is surely one of the most subtle portrayals of an enemy ever accomplished on the screen.

Yet, good as the film is, a fatal false premise gives it a hovering unreality. Banished in the scenes of action, the false note is struck again and again whenever the mayor and the colonel have time for a chat. There was nothing Nunnally Johnson could do about this, successful as he was in eliminating other defects. For the entire story of *The Moon Is Down* is predicated on the character of Colonel Lanser. The elaborate and explicit duel between the mayor, as spokesman of a free people, and the colonel, as spokesman of fascism, could only take place in very special circumstances. Steinbeck wants you to believe in a Nazi colonel who kills only for profit, never for pleasure; who can be gentlemanly and philosophical, quote Plato and regret the futility of his own tyranny, five minutes before sending his interlocutor out to be hanged. And such a character as Colonel Lanser, though frequently encountered in books, is unfortunately not to be encountered in real life. A militarist may be efficient without believing in the *ethics* of what he is doing; but a militarist who ceases to believe in the *efficacy* of his measures can do only one of two things—break with his caste or be paralyzed by its contradictions. The improbable Colonel Lanser does neither. Instead, he holds pleasant-mannered debates with the obdurate mayor, where a Nazi colonel in real life would either shoot him out of hand or torture him slowly to death, according to individual taste.

It is this misunderstanding of the new barbarians of Nazism as world-weary gentlemen of a graceful aristocracy that made the novel *The Moon Is Down* weak, and makes the far finer screen version so much less fine than it ought to be. Nevertheless, by so much as it supplements the Lanser-mayor duel with the record of the real agonies and heroisms of Norway, it is an enlightening contribution to the living history of the war.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Food Dramatized

The Living Newspaper technique effectively applied to rationing.

"IT'S UP TO YOU," the Department of Agriculture play on food rationing, was presented recently at the Skouras Academy of Music in Manhattan, before 4,000 people. It took the combined resources of the Skouras Theaters, the American Theater Wing, and the Food Industries to get it unveiled, but the effort was more than worth it. The play easily ranks as one of the most important theater pieces of the season for two reasons. It is the first effort by any government agency to dramatize visually a major problem of the war. And to achieve its effect, *It's Up To You* utilizes that highly palatable and enlightening technique known as the Living Newspaper in the old WPA days.

The play begins with a film made by Paul Strand for the Department of Agriculture. Cows, beans, hogs, eggs, tomatoes, the living produce of the land in all its shining opulence, is gathered by the farmer to feed America. But as the thunder of battle replaces the quiet noises of the countryside, the farmer is urged to produce more and ever more. He must now feed not only America and her armed forces, but Russia, England, China. The farmer responds. The statistical chart swings upward. But the demands are greater too. The farmer is exhorted to produce even more, since the home front is getting tless than it received under the peacetime levels. But the farmer too is beset with problems. Some of his help volunteers for the army, others take factory jobs, the manpower shortage catches up with him. He can only produce so much. The rest is up to the civilian population at home.

In twenty-seven subsequent scenes, with the aid of forty actors, slide projections, dancers, singers, and additional motion pictures, the production exposes the machinations of the Black Market, dramatizes the shamefulness of food waste, reveals the

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anarchy of the pre-ration buying days, points out the essential democracy of the point system, and gives 4,000 citizens a clearer understanding of consumer problems.

In addition to being an educational tour de force, *It's Up To You* is notable for at least one theatrical innovation. All the devices utilized in the production have been used before, especially in previous Living Newspaper shows. Motion pictures, for instance, have been used to help the dramatic structure of the theater when necessary, but never have the two forms been fused more successfully or used more ingeniously. In the Black Market scene, for example, the indulgent housewife is about to make off with some ill-gotten steak, when her image is suddenly thrown upon the screen. The image speaks to her, it is her conscience. Here Paul Strand makes her a powerful figure. Thrown upon the screen and surrounded by space, with nothing but a lone chair for scenery, she towers high above her flesh-and-blood counterpart. Screen and stage figure carry on a dialogue that all but makes you forget that they are not of one medium. For effectiveness the application of this device is superior to any I have ever seen on the American stage.

It's Up To You was rehearsed in its final form in only eleven days and displays some of the looseness that is characteristic of plays that could use more time in preparation. It also lacks, in spots, the incisiveness and sharpness necessary to the Living Newspaper technique. In all other respects, it is worthy of the tradition established by *Power*, *Triple A*, *One Third of a Nation*, and others.

Arthur Arent, author of many of the Living Newspaper successes, wrote the script. Howard Bay designed the background projections which are both charming and imaginative. Earl Robinson wrote the music, and two of the songs, "It's Up To You" and "Victory Begins at Home," will probably be heard very often in the future. Ralph Hayes, Lewis Allen, and Hi Zaret wrote the lyrics.

The outstanding performers in an exceedingly competent cast were Laura Duncan and Jack De Merchant, who did most of the singing, Helen Tamiris, who danced the part of a luscious porterhouse that tempted buyers from the straight and narrow of point rationing, and Hilda Vaughn, Louise Larabee, George Spaulding, Ralph Bell, and John Berry, who played the Voice.

It is planned to show this play in some half-dozen Skouras Theaters of the metropolitan area, after which it will play in several thousand theaters around the country. It should be brought to Washington and shown to Congress. Maybe an appropriation could be arranged and similar shows could be done on such things as national unity and production.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

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